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THE CONFEDERATES AND THE FIRST SHOT

Richard N. Current

JEFFERSON DAVIS made a fateful decision on April 10, 1861. After consulting with his cabinet in Montgomery, he directed his War Secretary, L. P. Walker, to order General P. G. T. Beauregard, in command of the Confederate forces at Charleston, to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter and, if the demand should be rejected, to reduce the fort. The next day Major Robert Anderson at Sumter received and rejected the demand. He remarked, however, that if the Confederates did not "batter the fort to pieces" before then, he and his men would be "starved out in a few days." Beauregard telegraphed Walker, and Walker conferred with Davis. Then Walker wired back authorizing Beauregard to "avoid the effusion of blood" if Anderson would state a time for his withdrawal and would agree meanwhile not to fire unless fired upon. Beauregard sent James Chesnut, Roger A. Pryor and two aides by boat to present this offer to Anderson. It was already after midnight on the morning of April 12. Anderson promised to hold his fire and to evacuate in three days—unless he should receive "controlling instructions" or "additional supplies." Chesnut and Pryor informed him that his reply was unsatisfactory and that the Confederate batteries would begin bombarding in an hour.

Instead of taking such responsibility upon themselves, these hot-headed underlings might have referred Anderson's reply to Beauregard, and he in turn to Walker and Davis. Upon this might-have-been of history a fair amount of thought and ink has been wasted. Davis might have accepted Anderson's conditions, but he himself never gave any indication that he would have done so; quite was the contrary. He afterward wrote that "the 'controlling instructions' were already issued" and "the 'additional supplies' were momentarily expected"; so there was "obviously no other course to be pursued" than the course the Confed-

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erates pursued that morning.¹ The basic decision was Davis', and to the last he stuck by it.

Why he did so, considering the risks and dangers he thus brought upon his beloved South, is a question that has never been fully answered and perhaps can never be. His own justification—that "the reduction of Fort Sumter was a measure of defense rendered absolutely and immediately necessary"—is unconvincing. Sumter offered no immediate threat to the physical safety of Charleston or of South Carolina—or of the other six states that then comprised the Confederacy. Designed as a protection against seaborne invasion, the fort exposed its weak side to the Confederates on land. Still under construction, it was thinly manned and poorly gunned. As a possible danger to the Confederates, it was more than offset by the shore batteries constructed around it and aimed at it. Once the firing had in fact begun, these batteries practically demolished its walls. With his smoothbores firing round shot, Anderson could not hurt the Confederates; they were beyond his effective range.²

Long before the Sumter guns were thus put to the test, Davis himself had acknowledged their inability to harm the Charlestonians. In January, writing to Governor Francis W. Pickens of South Carolina, he counseled that Sumter be left alone. "The little garrison in its present position," he explained, "presses on nothing but a point of pride."³ The little garrison in its April position pressed still less on anything but pride, for by April the Confederate batteries had been vastly strengthened. Yet on April 12, there was no immediate overriding military peril that compelled the Confederates to open fire.

The approach of a small fleet, under Captain Gustavus Vasa Fox, created no such peril. President Lincoln had made clear, in the notice he sent by personal messenger to Governor Pickens, that the expedition was only bringing supplies to the hungry garrison and would attempt no more unless that much were to be resisted. These supplies, if landed without opposition, would not have changed the balance, or imbalance, of the forces facing one another in Charleston harbor. Even additional arms, ammunition, and troops, if there had been any possibility that the Sumter expedition could have successfully landed them, would have made little difference in the military situation.

In justifying his policy, Davis charged the Lincoln administration with a deceptive "manoeuvre." He contended that the Confederate

¹ The familiar events of Apr. 10-12 are well summarized by Allan Nevins in *The War for the Union* (New York, 1959-60), I, 67-70. This article approaches the subject from a position similar to that of Nevins. For Jefferson Davis' view, see his *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (New York, 1881), I, 289. Hereafter cited as Davis, *Rise and Fall*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 292; T. Harry Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge, 1954), p. 59.

³ Nevins, *The War for the Union*, I, 73.

commissioners in Washington had been "receiving assurances calculated to inspire hope in the success of their mission," and that President Lincoln and Secretary William H. Seward had "profited by the delay created by their own assurances, in order to prepare secretly the means for effective hostile operations."⁴ In truth, neither the commissioners nor Davis was deceived. As his own War Secretary wrote to Beauregard on April 2, "The government [at Montgomery] has at no time placed any reliance on assurances by the government at Washington in respect to the evacuation of Fort Sumter, or entertained any confidence in the disposition of the latter to make any concession or yield any point to which it is not driven by absolute necessity."⁵

Actually, the commissioners thought they were using Seward, rather than he them. They knew that he, personally, favored concession and delay. They were aware of his belief that, given time, Southerners would rebel against the rebellion and bring the seceded states back into the Union. The wily commissioners encouraged him in this hope, for they were quite willing "to play with Seward, to delay and gain time until the South was ready."⁶ Eventually, even before Lincoln had announced his plan to provision Sumter, they concluded that the day had come to abandon their game.

All along, for weeks before the Sumter incident, the seceded states and the Confederate government had been making aggressive and warlike moves. South Carolina had "fired the first gun" as early as January 8, when the unarmed merchant steamer *Star of the West* arrived in Charleston harbor with provisions which, because of the menace from the shore batteries, never got to Sumter. As the cotton states, one after another, revolted against the Union, the secessionists within each state proceeded to take, by force or the threat of force when necessary, all the forts, arsenals, mints, customhouses, and other Federal property within their reach. While delegates were on their way to the Montgomery convention to set up the Confederacy, they rejoiced to learn that two more United States forts and an arsenal, "all on Alabama soil," had fallen.⁷ Soon after the Montgomery Congress convened, its members resolved that "immediate steps should be taken to obtain possession of forts Sumter and Pickens . . . either by negotiation or [by] force."⁸ Carrying

⁴ Davis, *Rise and Fall*, I, 280.

⁵ James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* . . . (New York, 1893-1906), III, 339-40. Hereafter cited as Rhodes, *History*. See also Nevins, *The War for the Union*, I, 67.

⁶ Samuel W. Crawford, *The Genesis of the Civil War* (New York, 1887), p. 333.
⁷ Crawford obtained this statement in 1870 and from a firsthand source: John Forsyth, one of the Confederate commissioners.

⁸ J. W. DuBose, *The Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey* (Birmingham, 1892), p. 551.

⁹ Rhodes, *History*, III, 295.

the resolution into effect, Davis sent his commissioners to Washington for negotiation. He sent other agents to the North and to Europe to buy arms—in case negotiation should fail.

In early March, Davis issued a call for 100,000 volunteers for one year's service; within a few weeks the Confederate States Army numbered 35,000 men—twice as many as its Federal counterpart. Meanwhile, politicians in the lower South grew impatient with the efforts of the commissioners in Washington. "These men should require to know within five days whether the forts on our soil, and justly belonging to us, are to be given up," a Savannah newspaper insisted early in April, "or whether we shall be compelled to take them by force of arms."⁹ Already state troops were descending upon Pensacola in preparation for an attack against Fort Pickens. "Mobile looks more like a military barracks than a commercial city," the fire-eater Howell Cobb reported while visiting there on March 31. "There are some fifteen hundred troops here on their way to Pensacola—most of them from Mississippi and composed of the best young men of the State."¹⁰

While the embattled Confederates pressed on to capture one point after another, the Federal government under President Buchanan and then under President Lincoln showed remarkable patience and forbearance. But the secessionists were far from being appeased. They denounced alike the irresolute Buchanan and the cautious Lincoln as menaces to peace. Davis, while yet a senator from Mississippi, railed against the Buchanan administration for permitting an "act of hostility" when Anderson made bold to transfer his garrison from the vulnerable Fort Moultrie to the somewhat more defensible Fort Sumter. Soon afterward Davis wrote privately that the incoming Lincoln would "have but to continue in the path of his predecessor to inaugurate a civil war."¹¹

Throughout February and March, while pretending that their own proceedings were "acts of peace and gentleness," the Deep South leaders spoke indignantly of Federal plotting to "coerce" them. These men took the strange position, as the Nashville *Republican Banner* pointed out, that the "Congress of the Cotton States" had the right, "by force of arms, to *coerce and destroy the Federal Government*," and that if the Federal government should directly or indirectly resist, "*the act of resistance and self-defence*" would be "*coercion by the Federal Government of the revolutionary Cotton States!* Well, black may be white, wrong

⁹ Savannah *Republican*, Apr. 2, 1861, quoted in Nevins, *The War for the Union*, I, 68.

¹⁰ U. B. Phillips (ed.), *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb* (Washington, 1913), p. 558. Hereafter cited as Phillips, *Correspondence*.

¹¹ Kenneth M. Stampp, *And the War Came* (Baton Rouge, 1950), p. 82.

may be right, and night may be day. . . ."¹² The Confederates took another and equally curious position, namely, that they should be allowed day after day to add to their power and possessions with impunity, while Lincoln must do nothing to upset the status quo in the slightest. If he dared do anything, he must bear the obloquy for bringing on a war.

As has been seen, the Confederates struck at Sumter when Lincoln took a step they could have looked upon as merely an effort to preserve the status quo. Very likely they would have struck somewhere, some time, even if he had dealt with the Confederate commissioners in Washington and had yielded to all their demands—even if he had given up Sumter and, along with it, Pickens and the rest of the places which, as late as April 12, Federal forces still occupied within the boundaries the Confederacy claimed. For not one of the Confederate leaders was satisfied with the boundaries as drawn at that time. Not one had a vision so narrow as to embrace, in the emerging nation of the South, no more than the string of seven states whose representatives had foregathered in Montgomery. Rather, these would-be nation-builders had grand, imperial designs, which could not well be achieved without considerable bloodshed.

At the very least, as the most moderate of the Confederate imperialists envisaged it, the full-grown Confederate States of America would have to include Virginia and the other slaveholding commonwealths of the upper South and the border. More than that, in the opinion of some advocates of a united South the new nation must obtain the District of Columbia and a share of all Federal territories and Federal property. If all the slave states came together, the New Orleans *Picayune* predicted on the day that South Carolina seceded, the "line forming their northern border" would be above all the territory "adapted to the extension of slavery." A large part of the West thus would be "at the control of the united South. . . . More than this, we absolutely carry with us . . . the District of Columbia, with all the millions of national property within its limits." In addition, the Confederacy of the future "holds the mouth of the Mississippi and has the keys to the commerce of the entire Mississippi and Ohio valley."¹³

Sharing the glorious vision of the New Orleans *Picayune*, the Charlottesville *Review* on January 25, 1861, declared: "Of course we come forward to claim our share of the general property. We must have a division of the public domain; we must have the city of Washington with its numerous and costly public buildings, as lying within the area of the Southern Confederacy; we must have the fortifications in the Florida

¹² Quoted in Dwight L. Dumond, *Southern Editorials on Secession* (New York, 1931), pp. 485-86. Hereafter cited as Dumond, *Southern Editorials*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 353-54.

Keys, which command the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico; we must have the right to establish strict police regulations on the Mississippi river."¹⁴ From the Gulf of Mexico the new empire, in the dreams of prominent Confederates, would stretch all the way to the Pacific Ocean, so as to include the territories of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Arizona, and even the state of California, to say nothing of eventual accretions that might come from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean islands.

In the minds of at least a few of its leaders, the Confederacy had possibilities of expansion to the north, beyond the free-state border, as well as to the west and south. Though Vice President Alexander Stephens had spoken of the idea of racial inequality and Negro slavery as the "cornerstone" of the Confederacy, he came to foretell the early admission of the free states of the Northwest and to refer to prospects of "re-organization and new assimilation." Some of his fellow Confederates understood Stephens to mean that, eventually, the new nation might also accept Pennsylvania, New York, and most of the members of the old nation. The once-proud United States then would amount to little.¹⁵

At the beginning of April, 1861, none of these imperial ambitions had been realized, and none appeared to be on the way to early realization. Virginia remained aloof from the Confederacy. On April 4 the Virginia convention, which had been elected to consider secession, voted 89 to 45 against it. Until Virginia left the Union, no other slave state was likely to do so. Thus it was doubtful (unless something drastic was done) whether additional states would leave the Union.

Indeed, it was doubtful whether all the seceded seven would stay out—and stay together. A desire to return to the Union seemed especially strong in Alabama, the very home of the Confederate government. If, among prominent Confederates, true unionists or "reconstructionists" were few, men of dubious Southernism were numerous. They were far too numerous for fire-eaters like Robert Barnwell Rhett, who suspected most of the Montgomery statesmen, including Davis and above all Stephens. "We are in danger," Rhett's organ, the *Charleston Mercury*, warned on March 25, "... of being dragged back eventually to the old political affiliations with the States and peoples from whom we have just cut loose."¹⁶

Superficial and unreal was the impression of unity that the Confederate founding fathers gave to outsiders. Underneath the surface, the tensions of personal rivalry and political difference were straining the newly founded nation, threatening to tear it apart. Old Whigs and old

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 418-19.

¹⁵ See Laura A. White, *Robert Barnwell Rhett, Father of Secession* (New York, 1931), pp. 200-203. Hereafter cited as White, *Rhett*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

Democrats, former unionists or "co-operationists," early and determined secessionists, advocates and opponents of reopening the African slave trade—these were some of the contending groups. A sense of frustration was widespread. This was made worse by economic as well as political uncertainty. Bankers were suspending specie payments, planters and traders were bearing an increased burden of debt, and manufacturers faced a business slow-down. Time did not appear to be on the side of the Confederacy; its prospects deteriorated with delay. There was a "feeling that the existing suspense and apprehension were intolerable, and that almost any change would be an improvement."¹⁷ Something had to be done, and soon.

War might be the thing. So it seemed to unsympathetic commentators in the North. In reporting the departure of Lincoln's Sumter expedition, the Indianapolis *Daily Journal* on April 11 predicted that Lincoln's "peace policy" was about to end in hostilities.

Why? Not because it assails anybody. Not because it coerces anybody. But because the seceding States are determined to have war; because they believe a war will drive to their support the border slave States, and unite them all in a great Southern Confederacy. A policy of peace is to them a policy of destruction. It encourages the growth of a reactionary feeling. It takes out of the way all the pride and resentment which could keep the people from feeling the weight of taxation, and the distress of their isolated condition. It forces them to reason, and to look at the consequences of their conduct. A war buries all these considerations in the fury and glory of battle, and the parade and pomp of arms. War will come because the Montgomery government deems it the best way of bringing in the border States, and of keeping down trouble at home.¹⁸

If the Indianapolis *Daily Journal* was biased, the fact nevertheless remains that many voices for war were being raised in the South. "We hold that it is utterly impossible to have a peaceable dismemberment of the confederation [that is, the United States]," the New Orleans *Daily True Delta* had said as far back as December 9, 1860. "We do not stop to argue the question whether a state has the undoubted right to separate herself . . . still, is it not obvious that after her separation, she must either relinquish all pretension, all claim, all right to participate equally in the national property, public domain, improvements of all kinds, army, navy and appurtenances, etc., or prepare herself to vindicate her demands for her share by a resort to force?" This New Orleans paper added: "We do not . . . doubt their [the Southern states'] perfect ability, albeit greatly inferior, numerically, . . . to conquer a successful peace."¹⁹

¹⁷ Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion* (Hartford, 1864), I, 450-51. Hereafter cited as Greeley, *American Conflict*.

¹⁸ Howard C. Perkins (ed.), *Northern Editorials on Secession* (New York, 1942), I, 705-6.

¹⁹ Dumond, *Southern Editorials*, pp. 313-14.

And the Charlottesville *Review* of January 25, 1861, after listing the claims of the seceding states, went on to ask: "Does anyone suppose that all or any one of these things will be yielded by the North? We deliberately dissolve our connection with the General Government, and leave it, in their opinion, a just claim to this property, and an army and navy to defend that claim. The result will be, that they will make no war on us, but we will be forced to make war on them; or else ignominiously resign all our just and equitable claims."²⁰

Some Southerners advocated what nowadays might be called "preventive war." The fiercely secessionist Richmond *Enquirer* urged, as early as December 18, the need for immediate action.

This matter comes home to Virginia, in the disposition of Fortress Monroe. Shall the fortress remain in the hands of our enemies? . . . But to deliver over to Lincoln the defenses of the States is to offer him opportunities of aggression, and to aid in producing civil war. It is the duty of every patriot to embarrass the new administration at every point; to deprive those who have produced the present state of affairs of all means to further involve the country in civil war. The inauguration should be prevented by Maryland, and, if necessary, Virginia should aid her.²¹

More to the point, in confirming the analysis of the Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, are expressions of Southern opinion in favor of striking a blow specifically at Fort Sumter. Among Confederates and secessionists it had become an axiom, before April 12, that violence at Sumter would automatically bring over Virginia and other slave states and thus would save the Confederacy. Above all others, the South Carolinians themselves were devoted to this doctrine, and from January on, Rhett in his son's Charleston *Mercury* beat the drum for seizing the fort. The Virginia secessionists, Roger A. Pryor and Edmund Ruffin, went to Charleston to egg on the Carolinians. On April 10, two days before his middle-of-the-night negotiations with Major Anderson, the rabble-rousing Pryor addressed a crowd from the balcony of the Charleston Hotel. "As sure as tomorrow's sun will rise upon us, just so sure will old Virginia be a member of the Southern Confederacy; and I will tell your Governor what will put her in the Southern Confederacy in less than an hour by a Shrewsbury clock. Strike a blow!"²²

That same day Senator Louis Wigfall of Texas, then in Charleston, dispatched a telegram to his friend Jefferson Davis: "General Beauregard will not act without your order. Let me suggest to you to send the order to him to begin the attack as soon as he is ready. Virginia is excited

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 418-19.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 345. A week later, the same newspaper challenged Southern patriotism by stating: "Can there not be found men bold and brave enough in Maryland to unite with Virginians in seizing the Capitol at Washington?" Rhodes, *History*, III, 300.

²² Crawford, *The Genesis of the Civil War*, p. 305.

by the preparations, and a bold stroke on our side will complete her purposes. Policy and prudence are urgent upon us to begin at once."²³ And Senator Jere Clemens of Alabama, calling upon Davis in Montgomery, overheard an Alabama leader say to War Secretary Walker: "It must be done. Delay two months, and Alabama stays in the Union. You must sprinkle blood in the faces of the people."²⁴

If Clemens heard or remembered incorrectly, the idea he reported was familiar enough among Alabama leaders. Several weeks earlier, one of them had privately written that there was danger to the Confederate cause in that the Republicans might back down and agree to compromise. "Our only reliance is in the manhood or imprudence of the Black Republicans," this Alabaman believed. "There is another way of avoiding the calamity of reconstruction and that is war. . . . Now pardon me for suggesting that South Carolina has the power of putting us beyond the reach of reconstruction by taking Fort Sumter at any cost."²⁵

Similar views might be quoted at length. These were, of course, the views of extremists. There can be no doubt that the great majority of Southerners, people and politicians alike, desired continued peace. Such was the conclusion of Stephen A. Hurlbut, the secret emissary whom Lincoln sent to Charleston late in March. A Charlestonian by birth, Hurlbut visited with relatives and with James L. Petigru, whom he considered the only unionist left in Charleston. In his confidential report to Lincoln, Hurlbut doubtless reflected Petigru's conversation. "The power in that State [South Carolina] and in the Southern Confederacy is now in the hands of the Conservatives—of men who desire no war, seek no armed collision, but hope and expect peaceable separation, & believe that after separation the two sections will be more friendly than ever." Yet he added, "it is equally true that there exists a large minority indefatigably active and reckless who desire to precipitate collision, inaugurate war & unite the Southern Confederacy by that means. These men dread the effects of time & trial upon their Institutions." They are motivated in part by concern over the "differences between the several [Confederate] states which will be obliterated by . . . war."²⁶

Though peace was the hope of most Confederates, "peace" was and is a tricky word. At the very least the Confederates expected to get all the slave states and the Federal property within them. All this they longed for—all this and peace too. Possibly they would have remained friendly

²³ Hudson Strode, *Jefferson Davis, Confederate President* (New York, 1959), pp. 38-39.

²⁴ Greeley, *American Conflict*, I, 632. A somewhat differently worded version is in Nevins, *The War for the Union*, I, 68.

²⁵ J. L. Pugh to W. P. Miles, Jan. 24, 1861, Miles Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

²⁶ S. A. Hurlbut to Abraham Lincoln, Mar. 27, 1861, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection, Library of Congress.

enough with the old Union if President Lincoln had only consented to a treaty yielding every last one of their demands. In the South of early 1861, the concept of "peace" had this general connotation and also a different and special meaning. According to the reasoning of some Confederates, a blow at Sumter would not lead to war but just the opposite: it would provide a guarantee against general hostilities. As Rhett's biographer has explained, "Rhett had never believed that the North would make war upon a united South, and he did not now [when Fort Sumter was attacked] realize the struggle which was impending. The call to arms he hailed for its psychological effect: Virginia and the border states were moving toward the Confederacy, and their action would command peace."²⁷

With so much confusion of terms in the air, it is not surprising that Southern statesmen, Jefferson Davis among them, engaged in a certain amount of double talk, either consciously or unconsciously. The New Orleans *Daily True Delta*, frankly accepting the necessity for force, deplored the inconsistency of some of "the more warlike" in the South.

We censure the parties that are fanning into a flame the passions of the people, who are preparing their hearts for revolution, who are sharpening sword-blades, yet are delusively shouting peace, peace, where there is no peace. [We cannot] doubt the sincerity of the Rhetts, the Toombses, the Yanceys, and the Jeff. Davises, when they welcome, in exultant tones, the prospect of war with their countrymen . . . what we deprecate is the perpetual assurance given by them that no civil war can originate in their revolutionary schemes. . . .²⁸

It appears that, indeed, Davis did blow hot and cold, did talk alternately of war and of peace. In his farewell address to the United States Senate he spoke soberly enough. On the way to Montgomery, for his inauguration there, he grew a bit bellicose in the remarks he made at some of his train's station stops. At Stevenson, Alabama, according to Southern newspaper reports, he seemed to welcome hostilities. "Your border states will gladly come into the Southern Confederacy within sixty days, as we will be their only friends," he was quoted as saying. "England will recognize us, and a glorious future is before us. . . . We will carry war where it is easy to advance—where food for the sword and torch await our armies in the densely populated cities. . . ."²⁹ At first, some of Davis'

²⁷ White, *Rhett*, p. 205. Before Lincoln's inauguration a Georgia correspondent expressed a similar thought to Howell Cobb: "The prompt secession of Virginia, together with a peace policy adopted by Congress, are the only things which will prevent Lincoln, Scott and Co. from using force." Phillips, *Correspondence*, pp. 543-44.

²⁸ Dumond, *Southern Editorials*, pp. 313-14.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 462-63; Greeley, *American Conflict*, I, 415 n. In later years Davis wrote that he had been "grossly misrepresented in sensational reports . . . which represented me as invoking war and threatening devastation of the North." *Rise and Fall*, I, 231. Yet his belligerent statements were published in both Northern and Southern papers.

friends could not believe the report that he anticipated a long and bloody war. He assured them that he did anticipate one. In his Montgomery inaugural address, adopting once more a tone of sadness and regret, he gave the impression of hoping for peace while preparing for an "appeal to arms" as an unfortunate contingency.³⁰

By April 10, the dilemma that Davis confronted had become painfully sharp, the more so because the consequences of his decision, whichever choice he might take, were so difficult to foresee. If he refused to sanction the firing on Fort Sumter, the consequences for the Confederate cause might on the whole be good, or bad. The Lincoln expedition might prove a fiasco (as, in the course of events, it was indeed to prove). Its failure could be expected to bring discredit upon the Lincoln administration and the cause of the North. The withholding of Confederate fire, moreover, would probably postpone the outbreak of general hostilities, at least for a time. This time could be used to advantage in furthering Confederate preparations for eventual war. Those were the favorable possibilities if Davis should hold back. The unfavorable ones were these: the eager South Carolinians might seize the initiative, fire on the fort regardless of orders from Montgomery, and leave Davis in an ineffectual and foolish posture. Or, assuming the Carolinians restrained themselves, the continued inaction would doubtless be accompanied by the continued demoralization and deterioration of the Confederacy.

On the other hand, if Davis went ahead and gave the order for reducing the fort, the consequences again might be either good or bad. Without question Virginia and other slave states would secede. Possibly, with the Union thus weakened and the Confederacy strengthened, the Northern people and the Lincoln administration would not dare risk a general war. Or, if they did risk it, the probable effect would be to inspire and unite the South. And in the ensuing conflict, the Confederates would presumably have many friends and the Federals many foes. Great Britain and France would side with the Confederacy. Southern sympathizers in the North would hamper the Northern war effort. Various groups that the United States had antagonized from time to time—the Mexicans, the Mormons, the Indians—would be likely to help in winning an empire in the West. All this would be to the good.

But there were other possibilities, and these were frightening. If the Confederates fired the first shot, and if that shot led to civil war, they would labor under a moral and psychological handicap: they would have to wrestle with the burden of war guilt. And the war might possibly end in disaster for the South. Davis' Secretary of State, Robert Toombs, in advising against a Sumter attack, is reputed to have said: "Mr. President, at this time it is suicide, murder, and will lose us every friend at the North. You will wantonly strike a hornet's nest which extends from

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 230-31.

mountain to ocean, and legions now quiet will swarm out and sting us to death. It is unnecessary; it puts us in the wrong; it is fatal."³¹ Defeat in war would among other things mean the end of slavery, the cornerstone of the Confederate States. Voices in the South as well as the North were predicting that, if war should come, the peculiar institution would not survive. Davis himself seemed to sense its doom.³²

Davis was a gentleman, a person of decent instincts. "He has achieved his reputation as a soldier," the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* had observed, just one month before he faced his inexorable decision, "and we are sure he feels no desire to augment a fame that might content any man, by civil war. He will have much to do to restrain the eagerness of the young soldier, who is panting to flash his maiden sword upon his country's enemies. He will have something to do to restrain the rashness of the misguided enthusiast, who requires the bonds of [Southern] union to be cemented in blood. . . ."³³ At the last, however, the current proved too strong for Davis to buck. Among his Cabinet advisers, Toombs alone counseled restraint; all the others insisted the time had come to act. Davis acted.

In the first flush of enthusiasm which the Sumter attack aroused in the South, events seemed to justify him. "We are prepared to fight, and the enemy is not," the Mobile *Advertiser* promptly proclaimed. "Now is the time for action, while he is yet unprepared. Let . . . a hundred thousand men . . . get over the border as quickly as they can. Let a division enter every Northern border State, destroy railroad connections to prevent concentrations of the enemy, and the desperate strait of these States, the body of Lincoln's country, will compel him to a peace—or compel his successor, should Virginia not suffer him to escape from his doomed capital."³⁴ By the time Davis had escaped from his doomed capital, he should have recognized his fatal error of 1861. But he never recognized it or, at least, never admitted it. Perhaps his stubbornness and his self-righteousness—his wartime refusal to accept defeat, his postwar obsession with rationalizing his career—perhaps these things were, in some measure, the outer manifestations of an inner struggle to still the promptings of regret.

For all the shrill earnestness of his protests, the evidence strongly suggests that military necessity did not require the firing of the first shot. Political necessity required it. The very life of the Confederacy, the growth upon which that life depended, was at stake. So were the pride, the prestige, and the position of Jefferson Davis.

Of course, he has had his defenders, hordes of them, besides himself.

³¹ Pleasant A. Stovall, *Robert Toombs* (New York, 1892), p. 286. Toombs's remark has been frequently quoted, although its authenticity is still questioned.

³² Rhodes, *History*, III, 279-99. See also Dumond, *Southern Editorials*, p. 446.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 482-83.

³⁴ Greeley, *American Conflict*, I, 459 n.

He will have many more. Let them face frankly the question of his responsibility for beginning the bloodshed. That is where the burden of proof should rest—upon Davis' partisans. It should not rest, as it has done for much too many years, upon Lincoln's champions. After all, Lincoln did not order the opening barrage; Davis did. Biographers of Davis and historians of the Confederacy too often have evaded or obscured his role in the Sumter affair by digressing to levy accusations or innuendoes at Lincoln.³⁵ Studies aplenty exist of war-making forces in the North. Realistic and thorough analyses of the war dynamism that rose up from the South are needed.

Perhaps a day will come, in the millennium of Clio, when the grace of objectivity fills every historian's heart. And perhaps, in that happy time, authorities North and South will agree that Lincoln himself, in his second inaugural, summed up the significance of April 12, 1861, about as aptly as anybody could sum it up in two sentences: "Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish. And the war came."³⁶

³⁵ The charge against Lincoln has been repeated ever since April, 1861. The classic elaboration of this school is Charles W. Ramsdell, "Lincoln and Fort Sumter," *Journal of Southern History*, III (1937), 259-98. Ramsdell, a competent authority on Confederate history, might appropriately have applied his talents to "Davis and Fort Sumter." Among recent works referring to the ulterior motives of Lincoln, but slighting those of Davis, are E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge, 1950), pp. 33-39; Clement Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy* (New York, 1954), pp. 27-28; and Charles P. Roland, *The Confederacy* (Chicago, 1960), p. 31.

³⁶ Roy P. Basler (ed.), *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953-55), VIII, 332.

TWELVE WOMEN IN THE FIRST DAYS OF THE CONFEDERACY

Isabel Quattlebaum

GREAT REJOICINGS swept through the South when the Southern states seceded from the Union. The rationale of the rejoicing may have been strained, but many people were extravagant in their praise of secession and of the Confederacy. Quickly did they turn against the Union flag, now termed "that old striped rag," and as quickly did they give credence to fantastic accounts of the horrors of "Yankeedoodledum," as one diarist termed Northern territory.

The optimism which prevailed in the South at the outbreak of the war is well illustrated in the diaries of twelve Southern women. For example, Mrs. Cornelia McDonald wrote that, in 1860, "the opinion was almost unanimous that separation was inevitable, but that it would be peaceful; that the importance of the supply of cotton was such that the North dared not go to extremities. And if it did, that Europe and the rest of the world would interfere."¹ To the young Southern women the outbreak of war was a time of gaiety. Sarah Morgan was interested in the Louisiana regiment stationed in her native Baton Rouge and in the young officers who came to her parties. Even when Louisiana seceded from the Union on January 24, 1861, Sarah wrote: "We did not trouble ourselves with gloomy anticipation, for many strangers visited the town, and our parties, rides, and walks grew gayer and more frequent."²

Secession was the first serious problem which concerned the women. At first Sarah Morgan in Louisiana and Eliza Frances Andrews and her father in Georgia did not want secession. Miss Andrews agreed with her father that it was "a pity to break up a great nation about a parcel of

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¹ Cornelia Peake McDonald, *A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley, 1860-1865*, ed. Hunter McDonald (Nashville, 1934), p. 13. Hereafter cited as McDonald, *Diary*.

² Sarah Morgan Dawson, *A Confederate Girl's Diary*, ed. James I. Robertson, Jr. (Bloomington, Ind., 1960), p. 5. Hereafter cited as Dawson, *Diary*.

African savages, if we had known any other way to protect our rights."³ Mrs. Mary Boykin Chesnut dreaded "this break with so great a power as the United States."⁴ Kate Cumming was the only diarist who asserted that the South probably had no lawful right to secede, for she knew that the nation was stronger when united, but she agreed to secession, since there was "no happiness in union without concord."⁵ Sarah Morgan prophesied that after the South had righted its wrongs it would re-enter the Union on more favorable terms. She did not think that the Confederacy could stand by itself. "It is a rope of sand, this Confederacy, founded on the doctrine of Secession, and will not last many years—not five."⁶

The women justified secession but wanted to leave the Union without war, cruelty, or bloodshed. They were puzzled that the North would not let them go in peace. To insure lasting peace and good will, the South and North must be separate nations. This is what Judith McGuire thought as she wrote on May 4, 1861: "Why cannot we part in peace?"⁷ Mrs. Chesnut said that the South separated from the North because of incompatibility of temper. "We are divorced, North from South, because we have hated each other so. If we could only separate politely, and not have a horrid fight for divorce." After Manassas had been fought and war began in earnest, she added: "We would only be too grateful to be left alone. Only let us alone. We ask no more, of Gods or men."⁸

None of the women in the spring of 1861 realized the extent of the approaching war. Mrs. Chesnut and Mrs. McGuire thought war could be averted, since Fort Sumter had been won without a casualty. Mrs. Catherine Edmondston thought her husband, while collecting troops and drilling them in North Carolina, was merely being prepared. "As the price of Liberty is eternal vigilance, perhaps he is only laying down his purchase money." She visited Mount Pleasant early in 1861 and hearing shots from Fort Sumter she questioned: "Is this the beginning of the Civil War?" When she and her husband returned home to North Carolina, they set out fruit trees, with her husband predicting that before they bore fruit the nation would be in a desperate war. Her diary entry was: "Pray God he prove a false prophet." But he was not. On April 13,

³ Eliza Frances Andrews, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864-1865*, ed. Spencer B. King, Jr. (Macon, 1960), p. 220. Hereafter cited as Andrews, *War-Time Journal*.

⁴ Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, ed. Ben Ames Williams (Boston, 1949), p. 3. Hereafter cited as Chesnut, *Diary*.

⁵ Kate Cumming, *Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse*, ed. Richard Harwell (Baton Rouge, 1959), p. 34. Hereafter cited as Cumming, *Journal*.

⁶ Dawson, *Diary*, p. 32.

⁷ Judith White McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee during the War* (Richmond, 1867), p. 11. Hereafter cited as McGuire, *Southern Refugee*.

⁸ Chesnut, *Diary*, pp. 20, 114.

with the fall of Fort Sumter imminent, she had to record: "Yes, it is done."⁹

The Civil War began when the right of secession was challenged by the North. The North did not make slavery a focal point until Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation seventeen months later. Therefore, Southern women in the beginning did not realize that in less than four years all the slaves would be freed. Only Mrs. Chesnut knew slavery was doomed.¹⁰ Mrs. Edmondston considered slavery the normal condition of "Cuffee," her term for Negro. Early in the war a Negro child was born on her plantation and she made plans to raise him as a house servant. She took for granted that slavery was a part of the Southern way of life. Julia LeGrand followed the traditional belief that Negroes were only half-developed creatures who were not quite men and women and respected only what they feared. But she believed that they could be improved. "I call to mind the age when Britons wore skins, and hope for all things." Sarah Morgan's greatest horror, after her Baton Rouge home had been ransacked by the Federals and her family possessions scattered, was that some Negro woman might be given her dresses. "Fancy my magenta organdie on a dark beauty! Bahl I think the sight would enrage me!"¹¹

Although they accepted slavery, most of the women deplored its cruel aspects. Eliza Frances Andrews posed one solution: after the South had gained its independence the Confederate government should confiscate Negroes from cruel masters. Kate Stone always pitied the slaves and disliked the whippings that the runaways received. The early entries of her diary showed her concern about a reported uprising on the Fourth of July. Her house servant, Aunt Lucy, ran away before breakfast but was back before dinner. The uprising did not occur and Kate concluded her entry: "I hope the house servants will settle to their work now."¹² She did not grasp the significance of slavery in this civil war. She pushed aside as irrelevant the fact that some of her slaves believed that the war and Lincoln would help them.

Mary Boykin Chesnut was the only diarist who wrote on the institution of slavery itself. She and her husband owned many slaves and depended upon them for all the plantation work. Mrs. Chesnut was more intelligent, better educated, and better traveled than her sister diarists;

⁹ Catherine Devereaux Edmondston, *The Journal of Catherine Devereaux Edmondston, 1860-1866*, ed. Margaret M. Jones (n.p., n.d.), pp. 15, 20, 23, 25. Hereafter cited as Edmondston, *Journal*.

¹⁰ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 73.

¹¹ Julia Ellen Waltz (née LeGrand), *The Journal of Julia LeGrand, New Orleans, 1862-1863*, ed. Kate M. Rowland and Mrs. Morris L. Croxall (Richmond, 1911), p. 168. Hereafter cited as LeGrand, *Journal*. See also Dawson, *Diary*, p. 178.

¹² Kate Stone Holmes, *Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868*, ed. John Q. Anderson (Baton Rouge, 1955), p. 37. Hereafter cited as Stone, *Brokenburn*.

therefore, her point of view is by far the most enlightened. She did consider Negroes inferior to the whites. In November, 1861, after reading a novel with a Negro heroine, she was indignant. "Those beastly Negress beauties are only animals. There is not much difference, after all, between the hut where all ages, sizes, and sexes sleep promiscuously, and our Negro cabins." But she hated slavery. Once she wrote: "I wonder if it be a sin to think slavery a curse to any land." She gave a description of her feelings while watching a Negro woman being sold upon the auction block. "The woman on the block overtopped the crowd. I felt faint, seasick. . . . She was a bright mulatto, with a pleasant face. She was magnificently gotten up in silks and satins. She seemed delighted with it all. . . . My very soul sickened. It was too dreadful."¹³ Obviously Mrs. Chesnut did not accept slavery as Mrs. Edmondston did, namely as the natural condition of the Negro. Her objections went further when she noted that Negroes must go according to caste even to the communion table.

To Mrs. Chesnut slavery wrought great evils in Southern society. It brought the strange moral code that a Negro woman, no matter how loose her morals, would be accepted as a household servant. "Who thinks any worse of a Negro or mulatto woman for being a thing we can't name? God forgive us, but ours is a monstrous system, a wrong and an iniquity!" She was angry at the society that allowed a white plantation owner to remain respected while he "runs a hideous black harem with its consequences under the same roof with his lovely white wife, and his beautiful and accomplished daughters. . . . You see, Mrs. Stowe did not hit the sorest spot. She makes Legree a bachelor."¹⁴

Mrs. Chesnut had always been kind to her Negroes. She commented that they did not change their behavior or seem to know that the war affected their welfare. "Lawrence sits at our door, as sleepy and as respectful and as profoundly indifferent. . . . And people talk before them as if they were chairs and tables, and they make no sign. Are they stolidly stupid, or wiser than we are, silent and strong, biding their time."¹⁵ It was not until September, 1861, that she, like other Southern women, began to fear the Negroes. It was also at this time that her cousin, Betsey Witherspoon, was murdered by her own slaves.

Some of the women found it difficult to shift their allegiance from the old Union to the new Confederacy. Betty Herndon Maury and her mother both regretted losing the peace and comfort of the old Union. Betty Maury had lived too long in Washington to be immediately swung away from American patriotism. In April, 1862, while she was in Fredericksburg, Virginia, she heard a Federal brass band playing "Yankee Doodle" and "The Star Spangled Banner." "I could not realize that they

¹³ Chesnut, *Diary*, pp. 10-11, 21, 162.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

were enemies and invaders. The old tunes brought back recollections of the old love for them. It was a sad and painful feeling."¹⁶ Border-state people felt the sharp criticisms of Southerners. Maryland and Kentucky did not break with the Union, although many people from these states were Confederate sympathizers. Julia LeGrand, who came originally from Maryland, made the significant point that only in states like Kentucky and Maryland was the war civil; between the North and the South it was sectional. The people around her in Louisiana who had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States should not judge, she thought, the border-state people who hesitated about joining the Confederacy.

Many Southerners felt allegiance for their states rather than for the new government. When Mrs. Chesnut went to a hospital in Richmond, she first asked if there were any wounded Carolina soldiers whom she could aid. Julia LeGrand predicted doom when she wrote: "*State pride and love* is so predominant. There can be no *National* feeling in this country—men are willing to sacrifice and die for *Native State*, . . . and they are prone to think it the home and birthplace of every perfection."¹⁷ Although her prediction was partially true, a national feeling for the Confederacy did develop. Kate Stone called the war a "great national upheaval, the throes of a Nation's birth."¹⁸ Kate Cumming was from the start a staunch Confederate supporter with little native-state selfishness. Eventually most of the women followed her example. Josephine Habersham wanted the South to be an example to the world of "a refined and Christian nation."¹⁹ In the spring of 1861, when Confederate troops marched through Winchester, Virginia, on their way to Harper's Ferry, Mrs. McDonald saw the Confederate flag for the first time. "I, who had always loved the Union, and gloried in the stars and stripes, was surprised at myself when I felt my pulses bound at the sight of the first Confederate flag I saw borne at the head of a marching column."²⁰ Although Betty Maury regretted the break with the North, she was glad that her father had come South, because "he could not take sides against his own people—against his native State and against the Right."²¹ Mrs. Chesnut accepted the new government. Writing from Montgomery in January, 1861, she declared: "I do not allow myself vain regrets or sad forebodings. This Southern Confederacy must be supported now by calm determination and cool brains. We have risked all, and we must play our best, for the stake is life or death."²²

¹⁶ "Diary of Betty Herndon Maury, 1861-1863" (typescript in possession of Dr. Bell I. Wiley, Emory University), p. 82. Hereafter cited as Maury, "Diary."

¹⁷ LeGrand, *Journal*, p. 199.

¹⁸ Stone, *Brokenburn*, p. 27.

¹⁹ Josephine Clay Habersham, *Ebb Tide as Seen through the Diary of Josephine Clay Habersham, 1863*, ed. Spencer B. King, Jr. (Athens, Ga., 1958), p. 35. Hereafter cited as Habersham, *Ebb Tide*.

²⁰ McDonald, *Diary*, p. 18.

²¹ Maury, "Diary," p. 2.

²² Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 6.

With a love of the South and the Confederacy there developed a parallel hatred of the North and the Yankees. Julia LeGrand predicted that this hatred "will live and taint the moral mind through generations to come."²³ Kate Cumming, an intelligent woman, condemned the Yankees for everything they did, merely because they were Yankees. The healing which a century has wrought makes this display of intense hatred seem sadly amusing. But it was a sincere feeling shared by all twelve of the diarists. It extended from hatred of Union rule, to the Yankees in general, to Lincoln in particular, and even to the Stars and Stripes. Kate Cumming wanted the Kentuckians "to rid themselves of the hated Yankee yoke."²⁴ Josephine Habersham "would rather die," she wrote in August, 1863, "than be in *the power* of these wretches."²⁵ To Julia LeGrand the "dear old Union . . . ceased to be dear" because of the atrocities of the Yankee rule in New Orleans. "Its defenders are not knights or cavaliers, but robbers."²⁶

To most of the women the word "Yankee" was odious. To Emma LeConte it was a synonym "for all that is mean, despicable and abhorrent."²⁷ Eliza Frances Andrews believed that "if all the words of hatred in every language under heaven were lumped together into one huge epithet of detestation, they could not tell how I hate Yankees."²⁸ Even the soft-spoken Josephine Habersham, living on a remote plantation in Georgia and thinking all Yankees stayed at home by their comfortable fires while Southern plantations were destroyed, called them "vile wretches" whose courage was limited to their fire shells. She thought General Lee was too easy on them. "A little hate to them, would not hurt his Lordship, I think."²⁹ Kate Cumming was the most vehement in her spoken hatred of the Yankees; she thought they should all be dead—a blessing not only to the South but to all of humanity.³⁰ This is difficult to explain, for she saw only wounded Yankee prisoners, many of whom repeatedly assured her that they hated Lincoln and abolition too and were merely fighting to save the Union. Perhaps the fact that she also saw the wounded Southerners made her hatred intense.

Julia LeGrand called Yankees "bloody wretches who have made war upon us." She described them as being "cold, hard, unscrupulous, persevering meddlers," who "should live by themselves and never have a voice in any government." Living in New Orleans, she hated General Benjamin Butler and his soldiers with the exception of a Colonel Clarke

²³ LeGrand, *Journal*, p. 97.

²⁴ Cumming, *Journal*, p. 61.

²⁵ Habersham, *Ebb Tide*, p. 70.

²⁶ LeGrand, *Journal*, pp. 217-18.

²⁷ Emma LeConte, *When the World Ended: The Diary of Emma LeConte*, ed. Earl Schenck Miers (New York, 1957), p. 66. Hereafter cited as LeConte, *When the World Ended*.

²⁸ Andrews, *War-Time Journal*, p. 67.

²⁹ Habersham, *Ebb Tide*, pp. 64, 93.

³⁰ Cumming, *Journal*, p. 38.

who had helped her. In 1863 she was sorry he was leaving, for "kind Federals are not indeed as plenty as blackberries."³¹

Sarah Morgan and Eliza Frances Andrews, along with Julia LeGrand, tempered their hatred with kindness for particular soldiers and feelings of pity for those who were suffering. During the occupation of Baton Rouge the Morgan sisters were severely criticized for their friendship with Federal officers. On June 4, 1862, Sarah Morgan wrote: "It was a singular situation: our brothers off fighting them, while these Federal officers leaned over our fence, and an officer standing on our steps offered to protect us." Her particular friend was General Thomas Williams, commanding the Second Brigade in Butler's Department of the Gulf. In an unpublished entry she added, "If all the Yankees are like him, hurrah for Lincoln, then!" There is no evidence that she or her sister were unpatriotic, but they did not shun the Federals as did most of the Baton Rouge women. She knew public opinion was against her for sending food to a wounded Federal officer, Colonel James W. McMillan, who had been kind to her family.³²

Eliza Frances Andrews felt sorry for the Federal prisoners and was particularly annoyed when a Southerner told her in a joking manner of "losing" a prisoner, meaning he had either been shot or been left in the swamps. His discussion, Miss Andrews wrote, "made my flesh creep—for after all, even Yankees are human beings, though they don't always behave like it."³³ It did not take Betty Maury long to acquire Southern feelings. In Fredericksburg she would not speak to the husband of her cousin because he had come to Virginia as an invader. Her four-year-old daughter caught the proper Southern spirit, for when offered candy by a Yankee soldier, her quick retort was "No thank you—Yankee candy would choke me!"³⁴

Special hatred was directed against Lincoln. Mrs. Chesnut had heard that he was "frightfully uncouth and ugly, with the keenest sense of vulgar humor."³⁵ Kate Cumming, like many women, was quick to blame him for the war. Her experiences in army hospitals made her feel that if Lincoln could witness the deaths, he and his followers "would surely desist from this unholy strife." She was bitter regarding his refusal to exchange prisoners. "He knows that every one of our men is of value to us for we have not the dregs of the earth to draw from."³⁶ More contempt was poured on him by Mrs. Maury when, after the battle of First Manassas, she noted that medicines and surgical instruments were declared contraband of war. Yet "Abraham Lincoln professes to conduct this war on the most humane and merciful principles."³⁷

³¹ LeGrand, *Journal*, pp. 74, 96.

³² Andrews, *War-Time Journal*, p. 30.

³³ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 114.

³⁴ Maury, "Diary," p. 28.

³⁵ Dawson, *Diary*, pp. 67, 74, 448.

³⁶ Maury, "Diary," p. 92.

³⁷ Cumming, *Journal*, pp. 75, 183.

Southern female rage was also directed against the Union flag. As soon as Baton Rouge fell to the Yankees, Sarah Morgan beheld the Union flag flying over the city. "Much as I once loved that flag, I hate it now! I came back and made myself a Confederate flag about five inches long." Nevertheless, she thought it unladylike to flaunt the Confederate flag in front of a group of Federal officers.³⁸ Her Confederate sister Kate Cumming had no such hesitation; when a Federal prisoner with a Union flag on the back of his Bible came into her hospital at Corinth in May, 1862, she called the banner "the most hateful thing which I could look at; as every stripe in it recalled to my mind the gashes that I had witnessed upon our men."³⁹ Julia LeGrand thought the South should have retained the old flag, "as we alone held fast to the Constitution. The Yankees have no right to it; they have been persecutors and meddlers even from the witch-burning time until now."⁴⁰ This hatred lasted throughout the war. When Columbia was burned, Emma LeConte saw the Union flag over the South Carolina state house. To her it was a symbol of despotism, a "horrid old gridiron of a flag" that the provost marshal had flown on the college campus "flaunting its bars in our faces all day."⁴¹

The assistance that the diarists gave consisted mainly of moral support, great spurts of patriotic speeches, and contempt for the men and women who did not do their duty. Emma LeConte took as high praise the Yankee comment that the women of South Carolina were "firm, obstinate, and ultra-rebel set of women."⁴² Sarah Morgan volunteered to set her own house on fire if that would serve the Confederate cause. Julia LeGrand scorned a female acquaintance whose patriotism "consists in making saucy speeches to and ugly faces at the Federal soldiers."⁴³ The women had contempt for the "home chivalry," the "fireside braves," and the "stay-at-homes." The men who hesitated about joining the Confederate army were shunned by the women.

When the Confederacy was established, the patriotic Southern women did not doubt that the South would ultimately triumph. No one considered that the North could conquer the South. "The Yankees may kill us; . . . but conquer us? Never!"⁴⁴ These were the words of Mrs. Chesnut but they expressed the feelings of all twelve diarists. Confederate success was assured by the women because the Southern cause was just, Southern soldiers were brave, their leaders were courageous, and everyone was determined to "whip the Yankees." There were no thoughts of failure, regardless of the enormity of odds against them. Mrs. Edmondston believed the conflict would be short and the South would win, for

³⁸ Dawson, *Diary*, pp. 27-30.

⁴⁰ LeGrand, *Journal*, p. 75.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴⁴ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 73.

³⁹ Cumming, *Journal*, p. 33.

⁴¹ LeConte, *When the World Ended*, p. 55.

⁴³ LeGrand, *Journal*, pp. 173-74.

it was fighting for its birthright. Kate Stone knew the Southerners could not be overwhelmed, for they were fighting for home and liberty. Kate Cumming pitied the Yankees, for they had no principle to justify their fighting. In May, 1861, Mrs. McGuire admitted that the South was weak in resources, but to counteract this defect the Confederacy was "strong in stout hearts, zeal for the cause, and enthusiastic devotion to our beloved south."⁴⁵

The Southern women believed that since the Southern cause was righteous, success would follow. Divine intervention would prevent disaster. In July, 1861, Kate Stone wrote: "Our cause is right and God will give us the victory."⁴⁶ Even when she heard the boastings of the North, Mrs. McGuire had no fears for the South. "Such is my abiding faith," she wrote, "in the justice of our cause, that I have no shadow of doubt of our success." She showed her sincere belief in divine intervention when counseling a poor soldier who was in doubt about whether God would listen to his prayer if it conflicted with the prayer of a Yankee. Mrs. McGuire gave her unhesitating answer. "Don't you believe that God will hear us for the justice of our cause?"⁴⁷

To these Southern women courage seemed more important than arms, training, or equipment. First, Southern courage was superior to Yankee courage; second, the sheer force of spirit would bring victory. Josephine Habersham wrote that "if bravery and patriotism can avail, Charleston will never fall."⁴⁸ Kate Stone called the Southern defenders "the most gallant men the sun shines on."⁴⁹ To Julia LeGrand the heroes were "brave and honorable gentlemen . . . though too often clothed in homespun and too often shoeless." They missed the comforts of home but showed "no lack of spirit and determination to stand until the last man, rather than give up to the Yankees."⁵⁰ Miss Cumming criticized the Yankees for not fighting when there was anything like an equal force to oppose them. "If the enemy would only fight," she pleaded "we would whip them soundly."⁵¹ Before the battle of First Manassas Betty Maury remarked that the soldiers were "fewer and more indifferently armed" than she had expected, but that their indomitable spirits would prevent defeat. She regretted that her brother-in-law had not been captured so that he could have seen the spirit of the Southern people. "At the bottom of our hearts," wrote Mrs. Chesnut, "we believe every Confederate soldier to be a hero, sans peur et sans reproche."⁵²

Just in case Southern heroism was not enough to insure Confederate victory, the women as well as the government leaders expected Euro-

⁴⁵ McGuire, *Southern Refugee*, p. 12.

⁴⁷ McGuire, *Southern Refugee*, pp. 15, 98.

⁴⁹ Stone, *Brokenburn*, p. 14.

⁵¹ Cumming, *Journal*, p. 37.

⁵² Maury, "Diary," p. 30; Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 96.

⁴⁶ Stone, *Brokenburn*, p. 36.

⁴⁸ Habersham, *Ebb Tide*, p. 50.

⁵⁰ LeGrand, *Journal*, p. 218.

pean countries to enter the war on the Southern side. But the women believed European help should be limited to recognizing the Confederacy and breaking the blockade, which would open Southern ports. The women thought their own boys could fight all the battles. Julia LeGrand, Emma LeConte, Betty Maury, Kate Cumming, and Sarah Morgan all wanted England to recognize the independence of the South. But Julia LeGrand was too proud to ask for financial assistance, and Sarah Morgan, with still a trace of her old love for the Union, thought the North would suffer humiliation if England had to conquer it! This she did not want. Emma LeConte believed it would be the South that would endure humiliating concessions if England sent it arms or men. Mrs. Edmondston thought England would sweep away Mr. Lincoln's navy to get Confederate cotton. A big Southern victory, Kate Cumming wrote, would bring British recognition and the North would be compelled to leave the South alone. In early December, 1861, when the Yankee government captured the Southern ministers James Mason and John Slidell en route to England and the British demanded their return, Betty Maury was certain that the North would go to war with England. This would cause England to recognize the Confederacy and break the blockade, and England as well as the South would prosper by the resumption of the cotton trade. The women thought that recognition by Europe would be a magic spell that would automatically insure victory.

Yet in the early days of the conflict the women at home could enjoy a little of the glamour and excitement then ascribed to war. Kate Stone agreed with her brother Coley that the war would be "just a glorious fight for fame and honor." The war seemed a romantic adventure, and the morale of the women was kept high while they were in the midst of Confederate social activities, while they were reviewing troops, or while they were able to record in their diaries Confederate victories. For Mrs. Chesnut this glamour lasted practically throughout the war. She was almost always in the center of Confederate activities. She belonged to Mrs. Davis' "court" and she was a personal friend of dozens of the important civilian and military Confederates who continually walked in and out of the pages of her diary. Her husband was also well known.⁵³ Moreover, Mrs. Chesnut could enjoy the excitement of the war because she never suffered acutely. She was never in danger of starving. She had many friends who continually brought her delicacies as well as staple foods. Whenever she went from city to city she traveled comfortably and, since she was well known, she was usually given preferential treatment.

⁵³ At the outset of war James Chesnut, Jr., served as an aide-de-camp to Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard. Following service as a member of the Council of Safety, he was promoted to brigadier general and assigned to the staff of the President.

Mrs. Chesnut was in Charleston during the firing on Fort Sumter. After the bombardment she wrote: "The women were wild, there on the housetop. Prayers from the women and imprecations from the men; and then a shell would light up the scene." She stayed at the Mills's house, which she called a "news center" because people continually passed through telling the latest events. On April 15, 1861, she exclaimed: "I did not know that one could live such days of excitement. . . . Fort Sumter has surrendered! Those up on the housetop shouted to us: 'The Fort is on fire.'" From Charleston she went to her home at Mulberry plantation. There life was too uneventful for her. Thinking only of the fun, excitement, and glitter of war, and not realizing what events a few months would bring, she wrote in June, 1861: "The war is making us all tenderly sentimental. No casualties yet, no real mourning, nobody hurt; so it is all parade, fuss and fine feathers."⁵⁴

She did not stay long in Camden but lived in Charleston, Montgomery, Columbia, and Richmond most of the four war years, and she loved this life. "After all, we have not had any of the horrors of war. Could there have been a gayer or pleasanter life than we led in Charleston? And Montgomery! How exciting it all was there. So many clever men and women, congregated from every part of the South." In Richmond she watched South Carolina troops pass. "They go by with a gay step. . . . We are forever at the windows." It was in Richmond that she saw for the first time soldiers who were wounded. "So here is one of the horrors of war we had not reckoned on." But she, like most of the diarists in 1861, did not foresee the duration or the extent of the war. On the anniversary of the secession of South Carolina she wrote: "The reality is not as dreadful as the anticipation. I have seen not half as much as I dreaded of fire and sword, bad as it is."⁵⁵

Kate Stone also wanted to be in the midst of the excitement. In February, 1862, she felt isolated in Louisiana away from the war. "No war news or any other kind," she lamented. "Oh, this inactive life when there is such stir and excitement in the busy world outside."⁵⁶ Soon though she got her fill of excitement as the Yankee fleets came up the Mississippi from New Orleans and down from Memphis and dropped anchor before Vicksburg. By June, 1862, the Federals had landed troops in northern Louisiana and were collecting Negroes from the neighboring plantations to help build a canal inland from the Mississippi. It was the fact that the Yankees were so near their home that finally forced the Stone family to leave Brokenburn and flee to Texas.

Like Mrs. Chesnut who waved to the South Carolina troops, Mrs. McDonald, in Winchester, Virginia, saw the Confederate army leave in July, 1861. "A proud sight it was," she wrote, "with the Confederate ban-

⁵⁴ Chesnut, *Diary*, pp. 36, 38-39, 58.

⁵⁶ Stone, *Brokenburn*, p. 87.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 82, 85, 175.

ners waving, the bands playing and the bayonets gleaming in the noon-day sun. They passed by our gate and we were all there to bid them good bye." Winchester was constantly changing hands from Union to Confederate forces. In March, 1862, the Federals seized the town, but in May, 1862, Mrs. McDonald and the other women gave the victorious Stonewall Brigade a glorious welcome. "Baskets of food were brought from the houses and passed hastily among the thronging soldiers, who would snatch a mouthful and go on their way." After another Federal occupation, the Confederates retook Winchester in June, 1863. Mrs. McDonald recorded the triumphant entry of the Southerners: "As the marching column drew near [the ladies from Winchester] with one accord burst into singing 'The Bonnie Blue Flag.' The bands all stopped and the troops stood still till they had finished, and then their shouts rent the air, caps were waved, and hurrahs resounded."⁵⁷

The morale of the women was heightened with the news of each Confederate victory. After the engagement at Aquia Creek, Betty Maury confidently wrote: "Only a chicken and a horse were killed on our side."⁵⁸ Mrs. McGuire wrote after the battle of Manassas: "The victory is ours! The enemy was routed! The Lord be praised for this great mercy."⁵⁹ Betty Maury was as jubilant. "Hurrah!" she wrote, "We have beat the Yankees. . . . We have only sixty-one killed and badly wounded. The enemy lost over one thousand. . . . The enemy is routed and we are in hot pursuit. . . ."⁶⁰

The diarists would write about the victories with great glee, but they would hope that the defeats had been inaccurately reported. About First Manassas Kate Stone wrote: "Received telegraphic accounts of our first pitched battle fought at Manassas Junction—our side victorious of course. A reported loss of three thousand for us and seven thousand for the Yankees. The losses we hope are exaggerated." On November 29, 1861, she wrote: "It was a hard fought battle and a glorious victory for us at Belmont."⁶¹

The spirits of the women would go up or down depending upon the type of war news reported. Discouragement shows in Kate Stone's entry for March 1, 1862: "February has been a month of defeats—Roanoke Island, Forts Henry and Donelson, and now proud old Nashville. All have fallen. A bitter month for us. A grand battle is looked for today or tomorrow at Columbus, Ky." But she still had great confidence in the Southern armies. In August, 1862, she wrote: "We should not mind our individual reverses on this side of the river when we hear how gloriously our arms are triumphing everywhere else. Our entire line is said to be advancing, and we read of a succession of small victories."⁶²

⁵⁷ McDonald, *Diary*, pp. 28, 68, 175.

⁵⁸ McGuire, *Southern Refugee*, p. 42.

⁶¹ Stone, *Brokenburn*, pp. 44, 66.

⁵⁹ Maury, "Diary," p. 4.

⁶⁰ Maury, "Diary," pp. 24-25.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 139.

This enthusiasm led the women to work actively for the Confederate cause. They organized sewing societies and made clothes for the soldiers. Mrs. Maury reported that she had to make "six pairs of pantaloons, six jackets, and eight shirts," and several days later she added that she had "met several of my suits of clothes on the street, felt like speaking to them."⁶³

When Mrs. McGuire visited Winchester after the capture of Harpers Ferry in 1862, she was impressed that "the ladies there think no effort, however self-sacrificing, is too great to be made for the soldiers. Nice food for the sick is constantly being prepared by old and young."⁶⁴ Mrs. Chesnut visited a hospital in Richmond and took a carriage load of peaches and grapes.

Some of the tasks performed were of real value; but from a twentieth-century point of view, the women's work was not well organized, and many toiled for rather selfish motives. In June, 1861, Mrs. Chesnut recorded how quickly the women in Richmond rushed to help the wounded. The result was more nurses than wounded men. "Every woman . . . is ready to rush into the Florence Nightingale business. I think I will wait for a wounded man before I make my first effort as Sister of Charity."⁶⁵ Kate Stone sewed clothes just for the members of her family. The women who came to the hospitals to nurse only their relatives and the woman who "enjoyed herself" while helping in the hospitals were scorned by Kate Cumming. Miss Cumming also criticized the Southern women who were staying idly at home.

For Kate Cumming the glamour of the war was lost the day she began serving as an army hospital matron. One of her first experiences was having to sleep in a room so crowded that she ended up sleeping under a table. She had been in Corinth, Mississippi, for six days when she wrote on April 16, 1862, that she had been sleeping any place and "as to making our toilet, that was out of the question. I have not undressed since I came here." After doing hospital work for about five months, Kate was advised to return home, since her friends did not consider hospital work "respectable." But she was not to be swayed by public opinion. "When I remembered the suffering I had witnessed, and the relief I had given, my mind was made up . . ." and she stayed with the Army of Tennessee.⁶⁶

Mrs. Maury—like Mrs. McDonald, Julia LeGrand, and Sarah Morgan—had to live in cities controlled by Yankees. At the beginning of the war each woman took this occupation with open defiance and good spirits. Betty Maury, living in Fredericksburg, Virginia, after it had been captured by the Federals in the spring of 1862, retained her Southern enthusiasm and high morale. Writing in June, and commenting on what was probably the battle of Seven Pines, she stated: "We get our informa-

⁶³ Maury, "Diary," pp. 11, 16.

⁶⁵ Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 70.

⁶⁴ McGuire, *Southern Refugee*, p. 29.

⁶⁶ Cumming, *Journal*, p. 19, 65.

tion from the Yankee papers and they give a very *subdued* and confused account of things. Say that they were *outnumbered five to one* and had to *retire* and we interpret it that they were *well whipped*."⁶⁷

During the first Union occupation of Winchester, Mrs. McDonald spoke so courageously to the Federals that they did not take over her home. However, she was forced to let wounded Union troops recuperate in her home, and in March, 1862, a Colonel Cander occupied several rooms. She rebuked him for flying the Union flag, because as long as it was displayed there, she had to go into her own house through the back door.⁶⁸

Also under Federal jurisdiction in New Orleans was Julia LeGrand. After the fall of the city she ridiculed the Yankees for having to seek protection from their river gunboats. "To quell a small 'rebellion,' they have made preparations enough to conquer a world. This is a most cowardly struggle—these people can do nothing without gunboats."⁶⁹

Sarah Morgan's reaction to Federal invasion was revealed in the first of her diary, which began about the time the Yankees were taking over New Orleans. On April 26, 1862, she wrote:

There is no word in the English language that can express the state in which we . . . have been these last three days. Day before yesterday, news came early in the morning of three of the enemy's boats passing the Forts, and then the excitement began. It increased rapidly on hearing of the sinking of eight of our gunboats in the engagement, the capture of the Forts, and last night, of the burning of the wharves and cotton in the city while the Yankees were taking possession. Today, the excitement has reached the point of delirium.⁷⁰

Miss Morgan believed that she could defend herself with a small seven-shooter and a large carving knife. Later, displaying an undaunted spirit, she made this comment about General Benjamin F. Butler's infamous decree: ". . . O my discarded carving-knife. . . . We will be close friends once more. And if you must have a sheath, perhaps I can find one for you in the heart of the first man who attempts to Butlerize me." After the Federals had occupied Baton Rouge in May, 1862, Sarah, still in good humor, poked fun at Admiral David Farragut: "So ended the momentous shelling of Baton Rouge, during which the valiant Farragut killed one whole woman, wounded three, struck some twenty houses several times apiece, and indirectly caused the death of two little children."⁷¹

By 1863 four of the women had been under Yankee control and three were already refugees, but Mrs. Chesnut continued enjoying the social life. She spent the first half of 1862 in Columbia, South Carolina, where

⁶⁷ Maury, "Diary," p. 96.

⁶⁸ LeGrand, *Journal*, p. 43.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 51.

⁶⁸ McDonald, *Diary*, p. 45.

⁷⁰ Dawson, *Diary*, p. 16.

she "plunged into society at once." She went to parties, dinners, teas, concerts, and to an elaborate reception for General Wade Hampton. By the winter of 1862-63, she was in Richmond, still participating fully in social activities. She had plenty of food, brought up by wagon from the Camden plantation. Her husband's servant Lawrence had access to Richmond's "black market" and could purchase expensive but scarce items. Once he bought some cherries and by going across the river he secured some ice; "In a wonderfully short time," Mrs. Chesnut wrote, "we had mint juleps and cherry coblers."⁷² Yet Mrs. Chesnut was not completely unmindful of the war. In her diary she would mention—in between parties—the death of acquaintances and describe the ragged soldiers who passed her door.

For two of the diarists the war still had not touched them personally by 1863. In June Catherine Edmondston wrote that "Vicksburg still holds" and added: "My home is now in perfect order. . . . When I compare the quiet, the repose and the happiness which result from a well-ordered house with the anxiety, the distress and the heart crushing misery which those under Federal rule endure—I feel ashamed that I suffer so little for the cause."⁷³

Mrs. Habersham, isolated at her summer home near Savannah, Georgia, worried about her two sons away in camps, but she too seemed far away from the war. On July 9, 1863, she wrote: "I am thankful that we have the spirits for dancing and are not as many households are, shrouded in gloom." She spent her time playing the piano and hearing the school lessons of her two young daughters. After learning that General Braxton Bragg had retreated from East Tennessee to Chattanooga and that enemy raids were expected in Alabama, North Georgia, and near Savannah, she went crabbing, "so much did we bother ourselves about it."⁷⁴

Kate Cumming, who had seen many of the results of Confederate defeats, still had great faith in the Southern army and in the self-sufficiency of the Confederacy. On December 31, 1862, she expressed this optimism by writing that although the South had suffered, its armies were improving; that factories had risen in the South; that cotton fields had been converted to grow grain; that Texas would supply beef; and that Confederate blockade-runners were bringing in coffee and tea. "In fact," she concluded, "if the war lasts much longer, we will be the most independent people in the world. Although we have lost many great and good men, numbers have risen to take their place."⁷⁵

Late 1862 and early 1863 were the high points of optimism for the women. Their confidence was dimmed by the Confederate reverses in the summer of 1863. But they were not ready to admit defeat. As late as

⁷² Chesnut, *Diary*, p. 304.

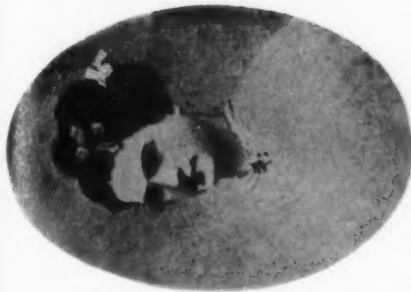
⁷⁴ Habersham, *Ebb Tide*, pp. 39, 59.

⁷³ Edmondston, *Journal*, p. 64.

⁷⁵ Cumming, *Journal*, p. 75.



Mary Chesnut proved the most famous of many Confederate diarists. As the wife of one of President Davis' military advisers, she mingled freely in the best social circles of the wartime South. Her suffering, when compared to that of her female compatriots, was less intense.



Daughter of a staunch Unionist, Eliza Andrews nevertheless maintained rather violent secessionist sentiments throughout the war. Her bitter hatred of Yankees mellowed in later years, when she became a noted writer of fact and fiction.



Sarah Morgan was the eighteen-year-old daughter of a Baton Rouge judge when war moved up the Mississippi in the spring of 1862. Although soon reduced to the role of a refugee wandering through Louisiana, she remained a steadfast Confederate to the last.



Kate Cumming joined the Army of Tennessee as a volunteer nurse in the spring of 1862 and dutifully served in makeshift hospital wards throughout most of the war. Serious-minded and deeply devoted to the Southern cause, she appeared stoical to anyone of lesser patriotism.



A well-educated and sentimental girl of twenty at war's outset, Kate Stone initially viewed the struggle as a grand and joyful pageant. Yet, from her plantation thirty miles south of Vicksburg, she soon came to see the full horror of war.



Mrs. Cornelia McDonald was not as outspoken in her feelings as other Southern diarists, despite the fact that from her Winchester home she witnessed some of the most brutal fighting of the war. This photograph was taken a quarter-century after the struggle ended.

October, 1863, Mrs. Habersham expressed great faith in the military forces of the Confederacy. She belittled the Union victories and did not understand the significance of the Confederate defeats.

Things look brighter for our beloved Country, Mississippi is coming out finely. The enemy has a great drain with all the little armies it has to keep there! The loss of Vicksburg has produced nothing beneficial for them. They can't attack Mobile, they are at somewhat of a standstill in Charleston, *preparing*, no doubt, for bombardment, but it is 103 days since they began the siege. Chickamauga kept them out of the heart of our Confederacy, and they are getting under shelter of Washington from Virginia. So things look bright, thank God.⁷⁶

Neither Mrs. Habersham nor Kate Cumming, nor the other ten diarists with the possible exception of Mrs. Chesnut, realized that by the autumn of 1863 the tide had already turned away from the South. In the months that lay ahead, their optimism waned with the star of the Confederacy. And in the end, their courage and pride mellowed into the bases of a Lost Cause.

⁷⁶ Habersham, *Ebb Tide*, p. 99.

A MISSOURI WALTZ: CIVIL WAR VERSION

Alan W. Farley

ONE OF THE most extraordinary episodes of our Civil War centers upon a Missouri character named "Captain" Harry Truman (no relation of Harry S. Truman, First Citizen of Independence, Missouri). While our subject used a variety of aliases, a small packet of letters in the National Archives written by him are all signed: "Captain Harry Truman."

He first appears as Captain Bill Trueman, leader of a bushwhacker pack with its lair on an island in the Marias des Cygnes River, nine miles from Butler, Missouri. This gang became particularly obnoxious and had to disperse after attacking a forage convoy of the 1st Iowa Cavalry crossing the ford of Miami Creek, on its way back from a farm six miles west of Butler, on May 18, 1862. Three soldiers lost their lives in this affair and several were wounded. Vigorous pursuit by avenging comrades resulted only in disappearance of the guerrillas.¹

About this time Truman gained the confidence of Colonel Robert T. Van Horn, Union mayor of Kansas City, who then introduced him to General Thomas Ewing, Jr., as a reliable scout and spy. Truman led a curious existence in western Missouri, fighting in the outlaw ranks and scouting for the Federals, and there is no doubt he rode into Independence, Missouri, with the guerrilla army of Colonel John T. Hughes and John R. Boyd in the summer of 1862. He was later recognized and denounced by a Union soldier on a steamboat en route to New Madrid for his part in this raid, but he escaped by appealing to his Union connections. On this trip he spent three days in the camp of the swamp-rat, Jeff Thompson, who had been mayor of St. Joseph.²

This narrative graphically illustrates the inherent difficulty of keeping Missouri peaceful during the latter part of the Civil War—the primary duty of the Federal officers. Probably more than any other, the state

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¹ *History of Cass and Bates Counties* (St. Joseph, 1883), pp. 998-99; *Old Settler's History of Bates County, Missouri* (Amsterdam, Mo., 1897), pp. 203-4.

² *St. Joseph Morning Herald*, July 10, 1864.

contained all shades of loyalty and rebellion. At that stage of the conflict, many deserters and paroled men from the Confederate army were either at home or prowled in the woods. In addition, many soldiers were given furloughs conditioned on recruiting for General Sterling Price. Add to all these the families and relatives of the many Missourians serving in the Rebel armies, and it becomes easier to visualize the extent of antagonism to Federal rule.

As the border warfare progressed, the Knights of the Golden Circle, an organization of Rebels underground, became widespread in rural Missouri, where many of the Union families had left in fear or had been driven out of the state or into larger towns to the protection of Federal garrisons. Truman was "employed by Col. Chester Harding to spy out the extent of this conspiracy in northern Missouri. General Hall and others conversant with the situation placed no confidence in Truman's disclosures, but Colonel Harding and Major Bassett at St. Joseph believed he had exposed a villainous and treasonable conspiracy."³

In May, 1864, Truman turned up at the departmental headquarters of General W. S. Rosecrans, with the endorsement of General Ewing. Colonel J. P. Sanderson, the provost marshal, was called in and told that Truman had vital information regarding the guerrilla leader Jackman. Sanderson later testified that Truman's intelligence was corroborated by his sources and that if reliable, he might be useful. This conference resulted in Truman's being sent on a special mission to capture or kill bushwhacker chieftains in central Missouri, and Colonel Draper at Macon City was ordered to furnish arms, horses, and men required for the job. Some difficulty was experienced in obtaining the six Colt Navy pistols requested, which were unavailable at Macon or St. Joseph.⁴

Truman led a small troop out of Macon into Chariton and Randolph counties. In a couple of weeks word of his outrageous conduct began to heat up the military telegraph. Major R. Leonard of the 9th Missouri Cavalry reported that "H. Trueman, sent out by Col. Sanderson to capture and kill guerrilla chiefs in that and adjoining counties is making far more mischief than good and ought to be removed."⁵

General C. B. Fisk, who commanded the military district from St. Joseph, was careful not to interfere with superior authority. "I have ordered Harry Truman to report to you in person . . . from his own report I am encouraged to regard him with favor . . . Major Leonard's report is much to his [prejudice] and damaging to our cause . . . give Leonard information that H. T. is no longer bushwhacking in that section . . . hear of great outrages in Chariton and Randolph [counties]." The fol-

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "Record of Scouts, Guides, Spies and Detectives," MS., National Archives.

⁵ *Ibid.*

lowing dispatch confirmed the last phrases: "On yesterday while making preparations to go out on a Scout, he drank until he became very much intoxicated and mounted his horse and rode into a number of business houses and at the same time used very vile and abusive language to anyone that said anything to him. . . . [He] had with him several soldiers of 9th Regiment . . . mounted on government horses, but when they returned all had fine horses of their own and delivered the government horses to the Quartermaster. . . ."⁶

The commanding general allowed Truman to continue his campaign, although Colonel Williams reported the guerrilla to be "tight as a brick." Then the roof began to sag. "I am at this point with my command. I were compelled to fall Back. The Enemy were (100) Strong in Chariton Co. I have killed Two (2) and have Taken four (4) prisners. I have sent to Macon City for Reinforcements, then I shall move. I have a fine Horse as a Present to you if you will Send down a Man to take charge of Him. Yours Respectfully, Capt. H. Truman, Comd. U.S. Scout, N. Mo."⁷

General Fisk lashed out at our hero in the following manner:

I have the honor, in the name of all that is loyal, patriotic and holy, to request that the general commanding immediately order Harry Truman to St. Louis and keep him there. He claims to be under orders direct from department headquarters and goes about with his most villainous conduct regardless of any body. He is plundering the best men in North Missouri, insults and abuses women, travels in the most public thoroughfares in a state of beastly intoxication with a notorious prostitute in company with him, and is guilty of all the crimes that I, as an officer of the Government am under obligations to put down, and this rascal parades General Rosecrans' telegrams before the people as his authority to scout the country.⁸

General Rosecrans replied that if Truman had committed any crimes Fisk was to take proper steps for his punishment. Day by day, the details filtered into Fisk's headquarters of odd behavior. Lieutenant Samuel Patterson reported:

I was ordered . . . to go to the northwest part of Chariton [County] to act in concert with H[arry] T[ruman]. When I got to Bucklin, H. T[ruman] told me he knew where the camp of bushwhackers was, about 150 strong. (Traveled all day to within four miles of camp.) . . . [He said] it was in a pasture and gave me all the particulars about it. He spoke to me about there being a jackass, a stallion, and an old man. (He found them but no camp.) I had no confidence in the man from the beginning as he kept drunk all the time . . . I'd rather be cashiered than be controlled by such a man.⁹

The complaints of Hon. William A. Hall, member of Congress from Missouri, could not be ignored when couched in positive terms, giving Kansas some of the credit:

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ U.S. War Dept. (comp.), *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, XXXIV, pt. 4, 286. Hereafter cited as *OR*, with all references being to Ser. I.

On my return from Washington two days ago, several citizens of Chariton County, adjoining this, informed me that a company of soldiers under a Captain Truman have been in that county a week. That his men have killed a number of citizens who were not taken with arms and [have] taken much valuable property, among others a number of very fine horses . . . have done more mischief in a week than the rebels have done since the war broke out . . . I hope for the character of our cause . . . that this company . . . are Red Legs from Kansas pretending to be Federal soldiers . . .¹⁰

Similar letters were sent thus to Fisk and to Rosecrans, who directed the former to investigate. The same day Truman wrote Fisk from Brookfield:

Have you sent for my family? . . . I have forty head of contraband horses. Shall I fetch them up? . . . I have killed 8 bushwhackers. I have 40 horses and 75 negroes to turn over to you. I have you the finest horse you ever saw. . . . I have broken up two camps. I was reinforced by Lt. Patterson with 40 men. At the time I wanted him, he ran with his men. He is a coward.¹¹

Truman was not without certain local supporters, for the Loyal Union League at Bucklin and Brookfield, both in Linn County, endorsed his actions in adjoining Chariton County. On June 15, Federal authorities decided at last to bring the rogue to account. Having decided that Truman was no more than a villain, Rosecrans issued orders for his arrest. Truman and two of his men were seized at St. Joseph, although General Fisk was very reluctant to interfere with a detective working under orders of the commander of the department.¹²

The prisoner tried to talk himself out of trouble by purporting to know where Quantrill was camped in Jackson County. After investigation the word came back: "Truman is a liar—troops are encamped where he says Quantrill is."¹³ On June 17, Truman also wrote General Fisk: "If I could see you or Major Bassett, I can tell you where you can find those 8 horses that was stolen by one David Morgan and where the money is that he sold them fore and the whole plan."

A sympathetic reporter for the *St. Joseph Morning Herald* interviewed the prisoner while he was awaiting trial by a military commission, and presented a good description.

He is 5 feet 10 inches high, very thick set, light brown hair, blue eyes, full face, very picture of health, endurance and physical courage. His hair is short and inclined to curl. He wears a moustache and imperial and is dressed in dark striped woolen pantaloons, supported by a broad leather belt, checked woolen shirt and undershirt and linen coat. On his left arm is printed in Indian Ink J. W. T., born Nov. 20, 1829. . . . He is known in the army as J. W. Terman, but also possesses the alias of Harry Truman.

A native of Marietta, Ohio, the reporter added, he had only limited ad-

¹⁰ "Record of Scouts, Guides, Spies and Detectives."

¹¹ OR, XXXIV, pt. 4, 328.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 396.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

vantages as a youth. With doubtful authenticity Truman was then reported to have fought "in almost every hard engagement" of the Texas War, and to have campaigned arduously in Kansas with John Brown, Lane and others."¹⁴

In the meantime, statements had been collected for the use of the military commission which was to try the accused. The one given by Private A. W. Arnold was representative and was corroborated by several other soldiers. "We were all clothed in citizen dress and we went from Mason City to McGee College. . . . There was much drinking and taking horses . . . took sixty-five or seventy-five dollars from Judge Hurt." Stephen Phelan added: "Truman agreed to let [Judge] Hurt have his horse back provided he paid the Captain \$75,—but he did not have but \$50—which Captain took and afterwards remarked he intended to spend it for whiskey for us boys."¹⁵

Truman went to trial before a military commission at St. Joseph. Captain James A. Adams, 9th Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, was president. The accused was represented by a civilian attorney with the now familiar name of Jefferson Chandler, who during the proceedings was barred from practice before the commission because of certain reflections made as to the integrity of its members. Thereafter Truman conducted his own defense and was successful in having several prominent Union officers, including Chester Harding, Van Horn, Rosecrans, and Ewing testifying as to the apparent previous accuracy of his reports. The trial was extended and fully reported in the press.

The result can best be told by the summary of the findings of the court. Truman was found to be guilty of hanging John Walker and George Veal; of shooting and killing Henry Jennings, James Starks, and William Viers; of stealing horses from S. F. Skinner, Andrew Scribner, N. A. Langston, Absalom Johnson, one Coy, and M. C. Hurt; of stealing from one Cooper a revolving pistol; and of burning the dwelling house of Absalom Johnson—all in Chariton County, Missouri, in the first eleven days of June, 1864. Other offenses were not proven.¹⁶ In his résumé, the prosecuting officer, Ephriam Clarke, shed further light by summing up the evidence that Truman robbed Skinner of a horse worth \$200; Thomas Wylie of a mare worth \$125; Absalom Johnson of a horse worth \$150, a double-barreled shotgun and revolver worth \$35, a new saddle, some new linen goods, and a lot of bed clothing worth \$50; Peter Fox of a horse worth \$300; Anderson Scribner of a horse worth \$300, etc.; that he burnt Absalom Johnson's house; that he hung George Veal in the streets of Keytesville; that he ordered Peter Fox, Henry C. Jennings, and James Starks (sixteen years old) to be killed and did murder them

¹⁴ St. Joseph *Morning Herald*, July 10, 1864.

¹⁵ "Record of Scouts, Guides, Spies and Detectives."

¹⁶ General Order No. 211, Dept. of Missouri, Nov. 17, 1861.

by shooting and hanging; that Fox and Jennings were taken and dragged a few yards from their doors and shot; and that he hung John Walker. Truman's defense was that the victims were dangerous and disloyal men. Yet an unsympathetic court sentenced Truman "to be hung by the neck until he is dead at such time and place as the General commanding may direct." While not excusing the prisoner, General Rosecrans "in consideration of the indefinite nature of the [Truman's] instructions . . . and the color of authority under which he therefore acted, and also because of technical errors which vitiate the validity of the record" disapproved the sentence and ordered Truman "confined at the Military Prison at Alton, Illinois, at hard labor, until further orders."¹⁷

As an interesting sidelight, on August 16, 1864, Judge William Hall, member of Congress, was arrested at the railroad station at Mexico, Missouri, by the adjutant of the 1st Iowa Cavalry, after Hall was heard to say: "I hold Lincoln as much an enemy to the government as Jeff Davis."¹⁸

While Truman was in prison, General Fisk telegraphed General Rosecrans, "I learn a brother-in-law of Truman has been diligent in following up all the parties who testified against Truman from Chariton County. The dwellings of nearly every citizen against Truman have been burned down"; and later he added: "Most of the witnesses against Truman have been murdered or burned out by parties as yet unknown."¹⁹

The record of the trial was forwarded to Washington where Judge Joseph Holt, the Adjutant General, recommended the proceedings be vacated because the approval of the department commander was indispensable to legal enforcement of the verdict of the military commission. Secretary Edwin Stanton accordingly ordered Truman released. The next event is best explained by an endorsement of General Grenville M. Dodge, who succeeded General Rosecrans as department commander: "Truman, under the request of the War Department, was allowed to accompany Mr. Cooley, a United States Detective attached to Col. Bates, to identify Quantrill and has not returned."²⁰

In the spring of 1865 the Federal authorities were greatly concerned about the surrender of the various guerrilla bands of Rebel troops in the Trans-Mississippi, fearful of the continuance of hit-and-run tactics that had been so difficult to control during the war. The official reports are full of gossip and rumors of movements relayed by subordinates in the field. Into this supercharged atmosphere emerged Harry Truman. From Macon, Missouri, General Dodge received the following dispatch: "Harry Truman is here . . . says he has an arrangement made with various bands of guerrillas in north Missouri by which they all propose to surrender if they can be released on taking the oath of allegiance. He de-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ OR, LIII, 815.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XLVIII, pt. 1, 135.

²⁰ "Record of Scouts, Guides, Spies and Detectives."

sires an officer and 20 men to aid in carrying out the scheme." The following day, Captain John D. Meredith and twenty picked men of the 39th Missouri Infantry were ordered to assist Truman in the surrender and parole of the guerrilla bands of Holtzclaw.²¹

But a few days later came a revolting dispatch: "Col. Denny reports to General Fisk that it is Truman instead of Jim Anderson who is committing the outrages north of the river. Truman and his party were at Keytesville yesterday, all drunk and committing the worst excesses. Truman swore that he was there by your order to raise hell in North Missouri. Shall I direct Denny to arrest him and his party?"²² Dodge directed the arrest. A few days later, in reply to another wail from Judge Hall, Dodge reported Truman at St. Louis in the custody of Colonel Baker, the provost marshal general.

Efforts to document the later career of Truman have proved unavailing, but it is doubtful if such a flamboyant individual could ever settle down to the prosaic existence of business or farming. Wherever Harry Truman went, violence and disorder were always nearby.

²¹ *OR*, XLVIII, pt. 4, 485, 512.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 587.

THE BATTLE OF ATLANTA AND McPHERSON'S SUCCESSOR

James P. Jones

WHEN GENERAL WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN reviewed his grand army of the west in 1864, no unit made him prouder than the Army of the Tennessee. His "whip-lash" was two years old, having been formed in 1862 and initially commanded by General U. S. Grant. The Army had fought in Tennessee and Mississippi, and when Grant moved to western theater command, the Army went to Sherman. Then in the winter of 1863-64, when Grant was called to Virginia and Sherman succeeded him in the West, General James B. McPherson assumed command.

The Army numbered 24,465 officers and men when Sherman invaded Georgia. Its three corps were led by Major Generals John A. Logan, Grenville M. Dodge, and Frank P. Blair, Jr. The Army's makeup was distinctly midwestern. Of the eighty-eight infantry regiments which participated in the Army's drive on Atlanta, only two were from the East. Most of the units were from Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin.

As the Atlanta campaign developed, McPherson's army came to play an increasingly important role in Sherman's plans. Rather than face the Confederates in open battle, Sherman began a series of flanking movements aimed at driving them back on Atlanta. The "whip-lash" divisions swung wide time and time again, forcing the Confederate commander, General Joseph E. Johnston, to withdraw southward. One frustrated Confederate soldier, taken prisoner by Logan's 103rd Illinois, gave vent to his exasperation at Union strategy. "Sherman will never go to hell," he drawled, "he'll flank the devil and make heaven in spite of all the guards."¹

By mid-July Johnston had been removed and the more belligerent

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¹ H. H. Orendorff, *Reminiscences of the Civil War from Diaries of Members of the 103rd Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Chicago, 1904), p. 74.

General John B. Hood named in his place. Hood determined at once to strike the invaders, and he attacked Sherman's center on July 20. The assault failed to dislodge the Federals. The Army of the Tennessee was not engaged on the twentieth, having been ordered eastward toward Decatur. Operating in the shadow of Stone Mountain, the three corps moved down the Georgia Railroad toward Atlanta. On the twentieth, while Hood attacked, Logan's XV Corps pushed to within two and one-half miles of the city, and in the afternoon Union artillery lobbed shells toward the distant spires. On the following day McPherson set his line: Blair on the left, Logan on the right, and Dodge in reserve. The soldiers, occupied in part by light skirmishing, spent most of their time strengthening their positions with earthworks reinforced with logs.

While McPherson dug works on the night of the twenty-first, Hood was moving four divisions toward the Army of the Tennessee. The Confederate commander had decided Sherman's left flank might be smashed by a quick strike near Decatur. The Western army was astir early on the twenty-second. At 8 A.M. McPherson made a shift that was to play a major role in saving the Army of the Tennessee from disaster. Dodge was instructed to move the XVI Corps from its reserve position to Blair's left, thus reinforcing and extending the Army's left flank. It was drizzling when the Army arose, and before rations were handed out, skirmish fire began driving XV and XVII Corps skirmishers into their trenches. The skirmish fire soon flickered out and Logan advanced scouts who reported that rebel skirmishers had abandoned lines opposite the XV Corps. Logan duly informed McPherson and was ordered to send General Morgan Smith's division forward to occupy the vacated trenches.

Smith's advance completed, Logan received orders that Hood was possibly evacuating Atlanta and to lead the pursuit. Before the command to march could be given, it became evident to Logan that the enemy was still along his front in force. Rebel fire rose in a sudden torrent, and a shell burst within twenty feet of Logan and McPherson, who stood observing the action. "General, they seem to be popping that corn for us," Logan remarked.² By ten o'clock there was no longer any doubt. Confederate entrenchments in front of General George H. Thomas' Army of the Cumberland and General John M. Schofield's Army of the Ohio were found partially vacant. Word reached Logan and McPherson that Hood's men were moving to the left in force.

McPherson immediately halted the ordered advance, put Logan back in his lines, and rode off to see Sherman. He found the General in the rear and told him of conditions on his left. The two generals met briefly, Sherman endorsed the change of plans, and McPherson returned to his

² George F. Dawson, *Life and Services of General John A. Logan as Soldier and Statesman* (Chicago, 1887), p. 61.

men.³ For some time McPherson and his staff rode along behind the Army of the Tennessee observing the placement of the Union lines. Then at about noon a sudden cannonade erupted on McPherson's extreme left. The General rounded up his staff and galloped off toward the portentous rumbling.

The first assault struck General Thomas Sweeny's division of the XVI Corps and then crashed into the XVII Corps division of General Giles A. Smith. Some of Smith's skirmishers, picking blackberries in the damp woods, leaped back over Union works. Smith, recently elevated to division command and transferred out of Logan's corps, was the major target for Hood's artillery and infantry, and Logan rode toward the flank to assess the danger. McPherson was riding in the same direction, but Logan turned back before he met the Army commander. However, McPherson soon sent word to Logan to send a brigade to fill a gap between the XVI and XVII Corps. Logan quickly sent Colonel Hugo Wangelin's 3rd Brigade of the 1st Division.

When McPherson reached the point of attack, the danger was evident. General William Hardee's Confederates had slashed out of a stand of timber into the left flank. All that saved the Union wing from being outflanked was the fact that as Hardee charged, Dodge's men, started in motion earlier by McPherson, were swinging into position on the extreme end of the line. When Hardee assaulted, he met part of the XVI Corps head-on rather than (as the Confederates expected) in the rear of Blair's unit. Better to discover his enemy's position, McPherson set out for the left of the XVII Corps line. He had ridden a short distance when a squad of Rebel horsemen burst through the trees and ordered McPherson and his signal officer, the only person still with him, to halt. The General refused and, urging his horse toward the Union line, was brought down by a Rebel volley. The aide was chased off, leaving the General's body in enemy hands. Some of Blair's men heard the volley and ran forward to help McPherson. Blair himself heard the shots and dispatched McPherson's adjutant, then at XVII Corps headquarters, to Logan and Sherman with the news that McPherson was either killed or wounded. Sherman was stunned: "The suddenness of this terrible calamity would have overwhelmed me with grief, but the living demanded my whole thoughts."⁴

Sherman acted quickly to provide McPherson's successor. He directed

³ *Military Essays and Recollections. Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Illinois Commandery* (Chicago, 1891), I, 311. This account of the final meeting between McPherson and Sherman was written by Col. William E. Strong of McPherson's staff. It runs counter to the story, long accepted, of the dramatic final meeting between the two men.

⁴ U.S. War Dept. (comp.), *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, XXXVIII, pt. 1, 73. Hereafter cited as OR; all references are to Ser. I.

Logan, the senior corps commander, to assume command of the Army, ordered him to hold at all costs, and promised reinforcements if necessary. Logan turned corps command over to Morgan Smith and rode rapidly to the sound of firing on the left. A nearby soldier heard Logan vow that he "would have McPherson's body if he sacrificed every man in the 15th Corps."³ Soon, however, a group found McPherson and brought the remains back to Union lines.

By the time Logan reached the part of the field hit by Hardee's first attack, firing had slackened. The XVI Corps held the extreme left, Blair the center, and Logan's old corps the right. The Union line formed a right angle, with Dodge and Blair on one side and the XV Corps on the other. Strongest point on the line was held by General M. B. Leggett, commanding the 3rd Division, XVII Corps. It was a slight eminence called Bald Hill (named Leggett's Hill after the battle), and it gave Leggett a vantage from which he could observe Hardee's movements. After ordering Blair to make certain Leggett was not driven off the hill, Logan turned to the Army's weakest spot. Between the XVI and XVII Corps was a gap in the line in a wooded area that provided excellent cover for enemy attackers. It had been created because Dodge had not had time enough to set his men completely before the enemy charged. Logan acted quickly to plug the hole. He ordered Dodge to swing out his right to connect with Wangelin's brigade; Blair was ordered to move the brigade on his left over to link up also with Wangelin. Logan called for Colonel James S. Martin's brigade of the 2nd Division XV Corps to reinforce the threatened sector.

Before Dodge and Blair could make the necessary changes, Hardee's men debouched from the trees and charged the XVII Corps again. After a severe struggle the attack was repulsed—only to be followed by another, and still another. Blair's men gave ground slowly, fighting on both sides of their works. By three o'clock Giles Smith's division had been forced to give ground, creating a dangerous pocket on the Union left.

All this time the XV Corps, holding the right, had been inactive. At 3:30 the right felt its first shock, the 2nd Division meeting and hurling back the first line of General B. F. Cheatham's gray attackers. But the XV Corps had been weakened by the loss of troops sent to the left, and a gap along the railroad cut offered an avenue of attack. Under cover of the smoke of battle, a Rebel column marched up the cut and appeared in the Union rear before anyone saw it. The right of the XV Corps, forced to fall back to avoid annihilation, had to leave two batteries in Rebel hands. Logan was with Dodge's corps when told of the danger on the right. Before leaving Dodge he asked the XVI Corps leader for a brigade to assist the right. "He came to me as we were in the habit of doing,

³ Byron R. Abernethy (ed.), *Private Elisha Stockwell, Jr., Sees the Civil War* (Norman, Okla., 1958), p. 91.

Logan, Blair, and myself," wrote Dodge, "when one was hard pushed and the other was not. We sent troops without orders where they were most needed."⁶ Logan then raced back to his old command with the brigades of Martin and Colonel August Mersey.

Logan found on his arrival that the XV Corps was struggling to change position to avoid a debacle. The Rebel spearhead had driven a wedge between General Charles R. Woods's division and the rest of the corps. Woods had closed on Schofield's Army of the Ohio on his right, but the opening the Rebels had made grew wider, seriously imperiling the entire Union flank. Logan summoned Major Clemens Landgraeber's battery; the gunners, soon reinforced by artillery from Schofield, compelled the enemy to take shelter.

Given time by the artillery to re-form, the divisions of the right were soon ready to counterattack. Woods and General William Harrow rushed men forward, and Morgan Smith's old division, now led by General J. A. J. Lightburn and supported by XVI Corps reinforcements, joined the charge. As the men advanced Logan rode along the lines, his black hair streaming, waving his hat in the air. "McPherson and revenge boys!" he shouted. The blue lines moving forward to retake their lost ground began to chant "Black Jack! Black Jack!" as they fought against a hail of Rebel fire. The fierce assault successfully hurled back the Confederates; and the lost batteries were retaken. By 4:30, after a costly struggle, the right had recaptured its old position.

Only two more attacks remained, and the first one poured out of the woods at about five o'clock in front of Blair. Rebel troops reached Blair's lines where, for forty-five minutes, blue and gray grappled fiercely before the Confederates limped back to their works.⁷

At six o'clock the final assault began, again directed against Giles Smith and Leggett on the left of the XVII Corps. Smith's line was driven back by superior numbers, but Wangelin, still supporting Blair's corps, advanced to Smith's support. These two units and Leggett's men hurled back the Confederate onslaught. Wangelin's four Missouri regiments were the deciding factor as the fight raged through the dusky woods. His brigade managed to strike the enemy flank, drove it in and threatened the entire assault line. This check, and confusion brought on by falling night, led to a final retreat. Night fell, firing ceased, and the Army of the Tennessee stood battered but in position.

In his report of the Battle of Atlanta, Logan felt that Hood failed owing to "the lateness of the hour at which the attack was made, a lack

⁶ G. M. Dodge, *Personal Recollections of General William T. Sherman* (Des Moines, 1902), pp. 19-20. Hereafter cited as Dodge, *Sherman*.

⁷ "The flags of two opposing regiments would meet on the opposite sides of the same works, and would be flaunted by their respective bearers in each other's faces. Men were bayoneted across the works and officers, with their swords, fought hand-to-hand with men with bayonets." OR, XXXVIII, pt. 3, 582-83.

of concert in his movements, . . . but more than all these to the splendid bravery and tenacity of the men and the ability and skill of the officers of the Army of the Tennessee." Logan added that McPherson "was an earnest patriot, a brave and accomplished officer, [and] . . . a true gentleman."⁸

While Logan was being pounded, the remainder of Sherman's army stood immobile. Sherman ordered Thomas to attack when he discovered Hood's main force opposite the Tennesseans, but "Slow Trot" moved forward, found what he felt were strong entrenchments, and fell back. Years later Sherman stated that Atlanta should have been taken on the twenty-second, but he was unwilling to blame any of his subordinates for failure to do so.⁹

Skirmish fire, especially strong in front of Bald Hill, lasted long into the night of the twenty-second. Logan set his Army in its old positions and called Blair and Dodge to his headquarters. The three men stood under an oak near the railroad and discussed the battle. They agreed that Thomas and Schofield should send troops to relieve some of the most battered units and Dodge went off to Sherman with the request. The Iowa general arrived and delivered his appeal. Sherman replied: "Dodge, you whipped them today didn't you?"

"Yes sir."

"Can't you do it again tomorrow?"

"Yes sir," said Dodge, saluted, and rode back to his command.¹⁰

This interview, illustrating Sherman's faith in the men of his old Army, might have been the source of a rumor that filtered through the Army: "Gen. Logan sent to Sherman for reinforcements. Sherman's answer is said to have been 'No sir, not a man. If I had 5,000 men here and did not know what to do with them, you should not have a man. You have lost those works and *you must retake them.*' And he did retake them."¹¹

Dodge returned with Sherman's actual reply and Logan set his men to strengthening their works. When Hood did not renew his assault on the twenty-third Logan took the opportunity to entrench himself against any future attack.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28. Army casualties totaled 3,722 men. Of this figure, the XV Corps suffered 1,067 losses; Dodge's corps, 854 losses; and Blair's corps, 1,801 killed, wounded, and missing.

⁹ G. M. Dodge, *The Battle of Atlanta and Other Campaigns* (Council Bluffs, 1910), pp. 49-50; Dodge, *Sherman*, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20. In later years two of Logan's biased biographers asserted that Logan himself went to see Sherman, and that the commander promised him then command of the Army "again and again." Mary Logan, *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife* (New York, 1913), p. 159; Byron Andrews, *A Biography of General John A. Logan* (New York, 1884), p. 475.

¹¹ Richard Harwell (ed.), "The Campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta as Seen by a Federal Soldier," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXV (1941), 273.

Sherman, Logan, and most Union leaders were happy at the result of the action of the twenty-second. They of course mourned McPherson, but many felt Hood's failure would force him to abandon Atlanta. Yet General John Palmer of Illinois, perhaps seeing in Logan's new acclaim the rise of a potential political opponent, thought differently. "The newspapers will be filled with details," he wrote his wife. "Logan will be announced as the saviour of the army. While really the battle need not have been fought if our troops had been ready for battle."¹² When he wrote his *Personal Recollections* fifty years later, Palmer had changed his mind about Logan. "It was precisely at this moment that the death of McPherson devolved the command . . . upon Logan, and it is upon his conduct on that day rests his best claim to be regarded as a great military commander."¹³ It is probable that the subsequent removal of Logan with its West Point versus volunteer overtones influenced Palmer's later opinion, for Palmer, like Logan, was an Illinois politician turned soldier.

The period of calm following the Battle of Atlanta gave Sherman time to think about a permanent commander for the Army of the Tennessee. On July 23 General George H. Thomas came to see him in regard to the matter. He expressed his opposition to Logan, admitting that the officer was "brave enough and a good officer, but if he had an army I am afraid he would edge over both sides and annoy Schofield and me." The principal reason for Thomas' hostility toward Logan was a difference of opinion concerning the use of railroads around Chattanooga. In March, 1864, with Sherman momentarily away from the army and Logan temporary commander of the Army of the Tennessee, Logan took exception to what he felt was unfair domination of rail facilities by Thomas' Army of the Cumberland. Logan protested to Sherman and though the commander tried to satisfy Logan and appease Thomas, the "statement was not as soothing to Thomas as Sherman believed."¹⁴

Instead of supporting Logan, Thomas proposed that General O. O. Howard be given the post.¹⁵ Howard then commanded the IV Corps of Thomas' Army of the Cumberland. Sherman argued that Howard, having come from the East, might be opposed by the Westerners, but Thomas insisted.

"If you give it to Logan," said the solemn Thomas, "I should feel like asking to be relieved."

¹² J. M. Palmer to Maggie A. Palmer, July 24, 1864, Palmer Papers, Illinois State Historical Library.

¹³ J. M. Palmer, *Personal Recollections* (Cincinnati, 1901), p. 451.

¹⁴ OR, XXXII, pt. 3, 490. This railroad difficulty is probably what Thomas had in mind when he stated that Logan would "edge over both sides."

¹⁵ W. T. Sherman, *Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman* (New York, 1875), II, 85. Hereafter cited as Sherman, *Memoirs*. Gen. Jacob D. Cox, in *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, 1900), II, 308, felt that Sherman would have given command of the Army to Logan "but the strong opposition of General Thomas made him conclude that this would be unwise."

"Why Thomas," exclaimed Sherman, "you would not do that?"

"No," said Thomas slowly, "I would not, but I feel that army commanders should be on friendly terms and Logan and I cannot. Let the President decide it."

Sherman snapped, "No it is my duty and I'll perform it."¹⁶

The discussion continued. General Joseph Hooker, senior corps commander in the entire army was mentioned, "but his chances were not even considered."¹⁷ Few could get along with the ambitious, quarrelsome, former commander of Union forces in Virginia. Sherman, in particular, disliked Hooker. Rumor had it that differences between the two dated back to the 1850's. In any event while Hooker commanded in Virginia, Sherman went so far as to state: "I know Hooker well and tremble to think of his handling 100,000 men in the presence of Lee."¹⁸

Definite clashes had developed since the beginning of the Atlanta campaign. Schofield thought he saw hostility between Hooker and Sherman at Resaca. Then, in action at Kulp's Farm, the two men clashed again. During the engagement Hooker sent Sherman a message which Sherman felt was inaccurate, insubordinate, and slanderous toward Schofield. Though Schofield did not seem to be disturbed by Hooker's actions, Sherman sternly reproached the XX Corps commander in terms "more gently than the occasion demanded." The Kulp's Farm embroglio brought the feud into the open. Even men in the ranks observed what one called a "spirited interview" between the two generals. Then, on the day the battle of Atlanta was fought, Sherman received another complaint against Hooker. General John Newton of the IV Corps wrote that he was unable to advance because Hooker had "cut in ahead of me." Complaints of this kind were common and Newton's note further reminded Sherman that Hooker could not provide the needed harmony between army commanders.¹⁹

Inevitably talk returned to Howard, a West Pointer, who had served in the East from First Bull Run to Gettysburg. He had lost an arm at Fair Oaks and commanded with distinction at Antietam. At Chancellorsville his XI Corps was surprised by Stonewall Jackson's Confederates and routed. In the fall of 1863 Howard had come West and served at Chattanooga. He was called the "Christian Soldier" by many and Sherman thought him "very honest, sincere and moral even to piety, but

¹⁶ Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* (New York, 1932), p. 388. In contrast, Sherman on July 24 wrote Gen. H. W. Slocum: "The President must name [McPherson's] successor." *OR*, XXXVIII, pt. 5, 245-46.

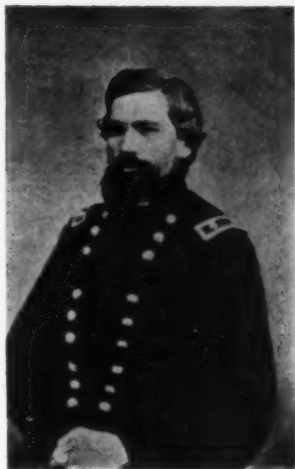
¹⁷ Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 86.

¹⁸ M. A. DeWolfe Howe (ed.), *Home Letters of General Sherman* (New York, 1909), p. 250. Hereafter cited as Howe, *Home Letters*.

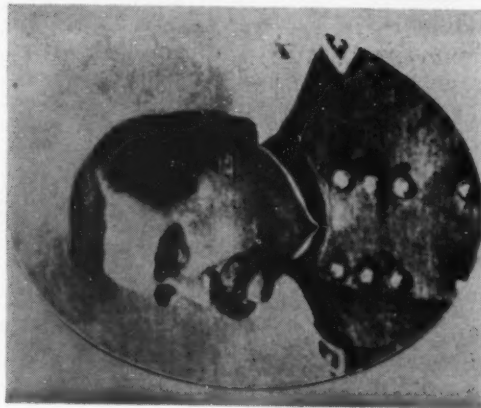
¹⁹ *OR*, XXXVIII, pt. 4, 558; pt. 5, p. 225; John M. Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army* (New York, 1897), pp. 135, 140; Hartwell Osborn, *Trials and Triumphs* (Chicago, 1904), p. 156.



Young James B. McPherson was the idol among the Federal high command in the West. Graduated number one in his West Point class, he demonstrated extraordinary talents before his death at Atlanta cut short a career of great promise and popularity.



When not directing troop movements in the field, pious Oliver Howard spent most of his time in prayer and Scripture-reading. He lost his right arm at Seven Pines. He served faithfully in every command but, the victim of some purely bad luck, he soon gave the impression of "diligent mediocrity."



Of John A. Logan, Charles Dana once wrote: "This is a man of remarkable qualities and peculiar character. Heroic and brilliant, he is sometimes unsteady. . . . A man of instinct and not of reflection, his judgments are often absurd, but his extemporaneous opinions are very apt to be right."



At the outbreak of the Civil War a Cincinnati newspaper called William T. Sherman stark mad and badly in need of sympathy in that great calamity. Yet Sherman handled war, armies, and his officers with the same gruff efficiency that contributed much to his successful campaigns.



"Fighting Joe" Hooker was a skillful organizer but an obstinate man who had a knack for not getting along with any of his superiors. On occasion he demonstrated great dash and energy. However, years after the war, when asked what happened at Chancellorsville, Hooker showed a rare humility by replying: "Well, to tell the truth, I just lost confidence in Joe Hooker."

brave."²⁰ Sherman wanted to maintain harmony between his army commanders, and he regarded Thomas' advice highly. The day following the interview with Thomas, Sherman wrote General Henry W. Halleck: "After thinking over the whole matter I prefer that Maj. Gen. O. O. Howard be ordered to command the Army and Department of the Tennessee."²¹ He later stated:

General Logan had taken command of the Army of the Tennessee by virtue of his seniority, and had done well; but I did not consider him equal to the command of three corps. Between him and General Blair there existed a natural rivalry. Both were men of great experience, courage, and talent. Both were politicians by nature and experience, and it may be that for this reason they were mistrusted by regular officers like Generals Schofield, Thomas, and myself.²²

Sherman considered Logan more than adequate in a fight, but was not certain of the amateur's ability to run all the technical aspects of departmental command through a long campaign. He was about to wheel the Army of the Tennessee over to the right flank and was unsure of Logan's ability to carry off this intricate movement.

Howard's name, sent in on the twenty-fourth, was approved on the twenty-sixth. On the following day he relieved Logan. "Black Jack" had commanded the Army for four days; in that time he had received little warning that he would not be sustained in the command. Howard's appointment therefore stirred up a hornet's nest in Sherman's army. Hooker was infuriated and resigned in a huff. To Thomas he wrote:

I have just learned that Major General Howard my junior, has been assigned to the command of the Army of the Tennessee. If this is the case I request that I may be relieved from duty with this army. Justice and self-respect alike require my removal from an army in which rank and service are ignored.

Hooker's resignation encountered no opposition from Thomas and Sherman. Thomas sent Sherman his application "approved and *heartily* recommended."²³

Having resigned, Hooker revealed his decision to his subordinates. He told them that the entire corps had been insulted and degraded by Sherman. The resignation brought deep regret from the XX Corps. General A. S. Williams, Hooker's temporary successor, felt Hooker had been a "superior corps commander" and "it was a blue day when he left us so

²⁰ Howe, *Home Letters*, p. 303.

²¹ OR, XXXVIII, pt. 5, 240.

²² OR, XXXVIII, pt. 5, 273. Hooker then stated in a letter to Logan: "I asked to be relieved from duty with the army, it being an insult to my rank and service. Had you retained the command I could have remained on duty without the sacrifice of honor or principle." Hooker to J. A. Logan, July 27, 1864, Logan Papers, Library of Congress.

²³ Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 86; OR, XXXVIII, pt. 5, 273.

suddenly."²⁴ Hooker addressed the officers of the 3rd Division, who expressed deep regret at his departure. The men in the ranks were equally upset. "Bully for Joseph," wrote a Massachusetts soldier, "it is hard to blame him for this step. By the rules which govern military men, he could not do otherwise." While others were disappointed at Hooker's departure and felt him justified, their disappointment was tempered by a feeling that he should have remained on duty and "made such a record . . . that 'Uncle Billy' . . . would have no longer distrusted him." On the twenty-ninth Hooker rode along the lines for the last time. As he left for the rear, "Fighting Joe" was cheered wildly by the men who had followed him through many of the war's bloodiest battles.²⁵

Sherman commented pointedly on Hooker's decision to leave the army by writing: "General Hooker is offended because he thinks he is entitled to the command. I must be honest and say he is not qualified or suited to it. He talks of quitting. . . . I shall not object. He is not indispensable to our success." By September Sherman was bluntly writing Halleck: "Hooker was a fool. Had he stayed a couple of weeks he could have marched into Atlanta and claimed all the honors."²⁶ In his own *Memoirs*, Sherman at first indicated almost contempt for Hooker's "fighting qualities." But in the second edition (published in 1889), Sherman was willing to admit that Hooker was an able fighter. Yet, he added, "I did feel a sense of relief when he left us."

When he reached the North, Hooker kept up a din of attacks on Sherman. He told everyone that Sherman would fail in Georgia and that the army was split by dissension. Though he spoke for the Lincoln ticket in November, Hooker, without naming Sherman, intimated that there was mismanagement in the conduct of the war. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles reported that "Hooker has arrived . . . in a pet. . . . He is vain, has some good and fighting qualities, and thinks highly and too much of himself."²⁷ Hooker carried his assault on his former chieftain into the postwar period by calling Sherman "crazy," with "no more judgement than a child."²⁸

Hooker's letter to Logan on the twenty-seventh (see note 22) was probably sent in hopes that Logan would join in asking to be relieved. Both men had large popular followings and a joint resignation, Hooker

²⁴ A. S. Williams, *From the Cannon's Mouth*, ed. Milo M. Quaife (Detroit, 1959), p. 338.

²⁵ A. J. Boies, *Record of the Thirty-third Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry* (Fitchburg, Mass., 1880), p. 87; A. B. Underwood, *The Three Years of Service of the Thirty-third Massachusetts Infantry* (Boston, 1881), p. 229.

²⁶ OR, XXXVIII, pt. 5, 272, 793. See also Howe, *Home Letters*, p. 303; U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1885), II, 383.

²⁷ Gideon Welles, *The Diary of Gideon Welles* (New York, 1911), II, 93.

²⁸ Walter Hebert, *Fighting Joe Hooker* (Indianapolis, 1944), p. 291.

felt, might force Sherman to reverse himself. Logan, though disappointed, refused to follow Hooker. "Black Jack" had asked Sherman to retain him in command until the campaign ended, but Sherman declined. Logan's disappointment was shared by many in the Army of the Tennessee. Dodge felt that the Army "had in it material to command itself." Shortly after Logan's removal, Dodge went to Sherman's headquarters and found Logan sitting on the porch.

He hardly recognized me as I walked in, and I saw a great change in him. I asked General Sherman what the change in commanders meant, why Logan was not left in command. As everyone knows, Logan's independence and criticism in the army was very severe, but they all knew what he was in a fight, and whenever we sent to Logan for aid, he would not only send his forces but come himself; so, as Blair said, we only knew Logan as we saw him in battle. Logan could hear every word that was said between Sherman and myself. Sherman did not feel at liberty to say anything in explanation of this change. He simply put me off very firmly, but as nicely as he could, and spoke highly of General Howard. . . . I went away from the place without any satisfaction, and when I met Logan on the outside I expressed to him my regrets, and I said to him: "There is something here that none of us understand," and he said: "It makes no difference; it will all come right in the end."²⁹

The "something" Dodge could not understand Logan felt he understood completely. Logan believed until he died that he was replaced simply because he was not a West Pointer. On July 14 he had written his wife: "My command was first on Kenesaw and in Marietta, but that will make no difference unless I was a West Point officer. I will get no credit for anything."³⁰ General Palmer (himself soon to leave the army after a clash with Sherman) maintained that the "real reason" Logan was not sustained was Sherman's antipathy toward volunteers. Sherman's *Memoirs* did little to convince Logan otherwise; indeed they seemed to substantiate Logan's opinion. "I regarded both Generals Logan and Blair as 'volunteers,'" wrote Sherman, "that looked to personal fame and glory as auxiliary and secondary to their political ambition, and not as professional soldiers." Though he insisted elsewhere that he had not been partial to any class, his words indicated differently.³¹ Sherman was particularly distressed by his political general's periodic visits to the North for political purposes and preferred to have commanders he could depend upon to stay with the army.

Logan seemed to bear little ill will toward Howard personally. After the war he called Howard, then head of the Freedmen's Bureau, a "noble officer." Howard in turn was impressed by Logan's diligent re-

²⁹ Dodge, *Sherman*, pp. 21-22.

³⁰ J. A. Logan to Mary Logan, July 14, 1864, Logan Papers.

³¹ Sherman, *Memoirs*, II, 86.

turn to duty as corps commander in spite of his distress, and he took every opportunity to praise Logan's ability and courage.

Sherman's decision was a difficult one, since his "heart prompted him to name Logan, whose battle conduct entitled him to command the army that was already his in spirit."³² But his uncertainty as to Logan's command capabilities, and his unwillingness to offend Thomas and Schofield, led him to his eventual resolution. That he felt uneasy about Logan was obvious from the tributes he paid him during the rest of the campaign. On the day Howard was named, for example, Sherman wrote Logan:

I fear you will be disappointed at not succeeding permanently to the command of the army. I assure you in giving prejudice to Gen. Howard I will not fail to give you every credit for having done so well. . . . Take a good rest. I know you are worn out with mental and physical work. No one could have a higher appreciation of the responsibility that devolved on you so unexpectedly and the noble manner in which you met it.³³

To Halleck in mid-August Sherman confided: "I meant no disrespect to any officer, and hereby declare that General Logan submitted with the grace and dignity of a soldier, gentleman, and patriot, resumed command of his corps, and enjoys the love and respect of his army and his commanders."³⁴

Despite Sherman's laudatory phrases, Logan continued to brood. Only to his wife did he reveal his true feelings. After the battle of Ezra Church he wrote home: "On the 28th I had the hardest fight of the campaign with my corps alone and gained a great and complete victory, but will get no credit for it, West Point must have all under Sherman who is an infernal *brute*. As soon as this campaign is over I think I shall come home, at least I will not serve longer under Sherman."³⁵ Two weeks later Logan dealt directly with the Howard affair. "You speak of my treatment by Sherman. He asked for Howard. . . . I feel it as sensitively as any one can and so does the whole army and they speak of it in very severe terms, but the good sense of it is for me to say not a word but go on and do my duty to my country."³⁶

Although Logan carried his disappointment into postwar politics, his 1864 actions won him high admiration. Logan had vowed to leave the army only when the rebellion had been crushed, and on July 27 Hood's plainly audible picket fire told Logan that the time had not yet come. Moreover, Logan had a budding political career to nurture, and a rash

³² Lewis, *Sherman, Fighting Prophet*, p. 389.

³³ W. T. Sherman to J. A. Logan, July 27, 1864, Logan Papers.

³⁴ OR, XXXVIII, pt. 5, 522-23.

³⁵ J. A. Logan to Mary Logan, Aug. 6, 1864, Logan Papers.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1864.

decision to follow Hooker might not be popular with his Illinois constituents.

With the exception of Logan, Hooker, and their supporters, the Howard appointment proved popular. The press reported it enthusiastically as a "good appointment." More important was the reception accorded Howard by the troops. Though some grumbled initially, they soon warmed to their new commander. "I think we'll like Howard first rate," an Illinois soldier wrote. "If he is as good as McPherson he'll do." Other soldiers spoke of Howard's bravery and his diligence in looking after the welfare of his new command. The troops in the army from Howard's old XI Corps who had followed him westward from Virginia were particularly interested in his elevation and felt he was an "ideal choice." The same soldier-authors criticized Hooker's retirement and praised Logan for his devotion to duty.³⁷

Sherman was immensely satisfied with Howard. The success of the Army of the Tennessee, led by Logan's XV Corps, at Ezra Church, led Sherman to write: "Yesterday's work justified my choice for Howard's disposition and manner elicited the shouts of my old corps, and he at once stepped into the shoes of McPherson and myself. I have now Thomas, Schofield, and Howard, all three tried and approved soldiers."³⁸ Under Howard the Tennesseans enjoyed continued success in the encirclement of Atlanta, the march to the sea and the northward campaigns to Raleigh and Confederate surrender. In the final days of the war, when Howard was given command of the Freedmen's Bureau, Logan received permanent command of the Army. "Black Jack" held the command he had coveted since July, 1864, until the Army was mustered out.

Although the command feud plagued Sherman into the postwar years, he remained firmly convinced of the wisdom of his choice. The attacks of the irresponsible Hooker were little problem for him, but Logan carried his bitterness into legislative assaults on Sherman and his position as postwar general-in-chief. Despite this bickering, Sherman defended his command decision against all criticism. He was certain that he could have made no better choice than Oliver Howard as McPherson's successor.

³⁷ Charles W. Wills, *Army Life of an Illinois Soldier* (Washington, 1908), p. 289; Osborn, *Trials and Triumphs*, p. 163.

³⁸ Howe, *Home Letters*, pp. 303-4. Grant, however, voiced a mild dissent in the appointment of Howard in his *Memoirs*, II, 235.

ROBERT TOOMBS, CONFEDERATE GENERAL

William Y. Thompson

AFTER FIVE MONTHS as Secretary of State of the Confederacy, restless Robert Toombs of Georgia decided to resign his high post and serve his country directly on the field of battle. His Cabinet position was not a demanding one, and the energetic Toombs much preferred being in uniform on the front line to being minister almost without portfolio.

All of his life Toombs had been a man of action. Though not always constructive, he was never without influence and in 1860 was regarded as one of the key Senate figures in the ominous secession crisis. Considering the position of the South hopeless, the fiery Georgian had helped lead his state out of the Union. A vivid description of Toombs in the sixties has been given by Varina Howell Davis.

Mr. Toombs was over six feet tall, with broad shoulders; his fine head set well on his shoulders, was covered with long glossy black hair, which when speaking, he managed to toss about as to recall the memory of Danton. His coloring was good, and his teeth brilliantly white, but his mouth was somewhat pendulous and subtracted from the rest of his strong face. His eyes were magnificent, dark and flashing, and they had a certain lawless way of ranging about that was indicative of his character. His hands were beautiful and kept like those of a fashionable woman. His voice was like a trumpet, but without sweetness, and his enunciation was thick.¹

The metamorphosis from civilian to soldier was received in some circles with misgivings. His family was concerned over his ability to withstand the rigors of military life. Even after Toombs had entered the service, his brother Gabriel wrote Alexander H. Stephens, imploring him to use his influence to effect a resignation. Good judgment in the matter had been blinded by his zeal said Gabriel and furthermore his health

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¹ Eron Rowland, *Varina Howell, Wife of Jefferson Davis* (New York, 1927), I, 249. The *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 16, 1885, described Toombs "in the full bloom of manhood" as "undoubtedly the grandest looking man on the continent."

was severely impaired by a recent attack of rheumatism.² President Jefferson Davis was not enthusiastic because of Toombs's lack of military training, but desiring to preserve harmonious relations with the important Georgian, he acceded to the request.

Toombs resigned on July 24, 1861, and soon entered the army as a brigadier general. The *Daily Richmond Examiner* labeled his decision, along with similar ones by fellow Georgians Howell Cobb and Thomas R. R. Cobb, "an error of generosity," gently deploring the gaps left in civil leadership by their departure.³

The entry of Toombs into uniform occasioned some immediate excitement at the Fair Grounds in Richmond. On August 1, Mrs. Mary Boykin Chesnut wrote:

That bold Brigadier, the Georgia General Toombs, charging about too recklessly, got thrown. His horse dragged him up to the wheels of our carriage. For a moment it was frightful. Down there among the horse's hoofs was his face turned up towards us, purple with rage. His foot was still in the stirrup, and he had not let go the bridle. The horse was prancing over him, rearing and plunging, and everybody hemming him in, and they seemed so slow and awkward about it. We felt it an eternity, looking down at him and expecting him to be killed before our very faces. However, he soon got it all straight, and though awfully tousled and tumbled, dusty, rumped and flushed, with redder face and wilder hair than ever, he rode off gallantly, having to our admiration bravely remounted the recalcitrant charger.⁴

This embarrassing equestrian episode gave Toombs more action than he was to experience with the military for a long time. The army he entered, though flushed with the victory at Manassas, was badly disorganized, as much so as the defeated Federals who had retreated to the outskirts of Washington. The Confederates were within picket sight of the unfinished Capitol dome but chose to push no farther. General Joseph E. Johnston instead bent his energies toward molding an army out of the thousands of ill-trained recruits in the Manassas area. Almost a year was to pass before Toombs underwent his first real baptism of fire.

The deadly monotony of camp life ran against the Georgian's grain. His letters to Stephens during this period attested to his increasing restlessness and dissatisfaction with the way the Confederate cause was being handled. He regarded Johnston as a "poor devil, small, arbitrary, and inefficient," chucking the entire campaign down the drain and "with this mighty army ready and willing to end the war if they had a man of

² Ulrich B. Phillips (ed.), *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb* (Washington, 1913), p. 573. Hereafter cited as Phillips, *Correspondence*.

³ *Daily Richmond Examiner*, Aug. 7, 1861.

⁴ Mary B. Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, ed. Ben Ames Williams (Boston, 1949), p. 99.

sense and ability to lead them." A short time later, Johnston was still under fire. "The army . . . will not survive the winter," wrote Toombs. "Set this down in your book, and set down opposite to it its epitaph, 'died of West Point.'"⁵

During the reorganization of the Confederate army in the fall and winter of 1861, Toombs was brigaded first under General E. Kirby Smith and then under General Gustavus W. Smith. His command, the 1st, 2nd, 15th, and 17th Georgia Regiments, plus Blodgett's battery, was essentially "a Middle-Georgia clan freshly called to arms and commanded by its own chief."⁶ Sons-in-law, old friends, and neighbors were generously interspersed in the ranks.⁷ Although constantly carping at generals of higher rank, Toombs remained loyal and devoted to those serving under him.

The spring of 1862 saw the main Federal force under General George B. McClellan move from Washington to the peninsula between the York and James rivers. Johnston, in April, ordered his army from Manassas to join General John B. "Prince John" Magruder, who had for nearly a year been in command of the small Confederate force on the lower Peninsula in the vicinity of Yorktown. Toombs arrived on the April 14 before the bulk of Johnston's army and was given temporary divisional command by Magruder. Howell Cobb, already on the Peninsula, remarked: "We have Georgians enough here now to whip the Yankees if we had to do the whole work ourselves."⁸

On the sixteenth, Magruder's thin line of defense from Yorktown to the James River was attacked unsuccessfully at Dam No. 1. Magruder detached part of Toombs's division for front-line action. The remainder of his command was led by Toombs himself "promptly and energetically" into battle at late evening "just before the enemy ceased the vigor of his attack and in time to share its dangers."⁹ Toombs's men remained in the trenches around Dam No. 1 until the Confederates withdrew from the lower peninsula. It was warfare at its worst—constant harassment from enemy sharpshooters, fatigue, and physical discomfort from water sometimes a foot deep in the trenches. Toombs told Stephens he saw no reason for all of it except "the stupidity and cowardice of our officers."¹⁰ He believed that McClellan could have been whipped easily.

⁵ Phillips, *Correspondence*, pp. 575-77.

⁶ Ulrich B. Phillips, *The Life of Robert Toombs* (New York, 1913), p. 238. In the summer of 1862 the 20th Georgia replaced the 1st Georgia in Toombs's brigade.

⁷ Dudley M. DuBose and William Felix Alexander of the brigade were both related to the General by marriage.

⁸ Phillips, *Correspondence*, p. 594.

⁹ U.S. War Dept. (comp.), *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, XI, pt. 1, 408. Hereafter cited as *OR*; all references are to Ser. I.

¹⁰ Phillips, *Correspondence*, p. 595.

Johnston was never satisfied with his position at Yorktown. He much preferred "to draw the enemy inland, to concentrate all available forces at Richmond, and to give battle there."¹¹ Looking forward toward the fulfillment of this plan, he ordered a retreat. Near Williamsburg on May 5, part of Johnston's force fought a bloody rear-guard action with the pursuing Federals. Toombs, moving with Magruder's troops in the vanguard of the retreat, did not participate.

Johnston continued on toward Richmond and drew up his defenses around the city. McClellan's 100,000 men came ponderously after him and approached to within sight of the spires of the Confederate capital. The Union commander split his forces and had his right flank across the Chickahominy River in anticipation of joining with General Irvin McDowell's army moving south from Washington.

While the two armies waited watchfully, Toombs's pen went into action. "This army will not fight," he complained to Stephens, "until McClellan attacks it. Science will do anything but fight. It will burn, retreat, curse, swear, get drunk, strip soldiers—anything but fight."¹² One bright note was his health, which had improved since he stopped smoking.

Toombs was not alone as an unhappy correspondent. On May 23, Adam Leopold Alexander, a neighbor from Washington, Georgia, wrote his son Edward, an officer in the army, bitterly castigating Toombs for hindering the war effort. The senior Alexander was particularly irritated because Toombs's overt phillipics against authority, both civil and military, had infected another son, William Felix, Toombs's aide and son-in-law. Apparently the General had been threatening to resign his commission. "I hope in God this is true," said the father, "& that he will come home & stay here, and keep his seditious mouth shut." Alexander told Edward about a rumor floating around to the effect that Toombs was trying to "subvert" the government, hoping to create a new one, Cromwellian style.

Now if such a thing is attempted I want Felix to know that I shall be found with the Govt, and not with Mr. T. I was sorry that Mr. T. ever entered the Army, for I know he can cooperate with no man or set of men, unless *he* is the ascendant. He yields his opinions to no one, no matter on what subject. & would insanely maintain them against a regiment of Military men, on any movements of army. He is totally unfitted for his present position. He is satisfied with no one, but himself, or those who submit to him.¹³

On May 31, the offensive passed to the Confederates and Johnston attacked McClellan's forces south of the Chickahominy at Seven Pines.

¹¹ Douglas S. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command* (New York, 1942-44), I, 150. Hereafter cited as Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*.

¹² Phillips, *Correspondence*, p. 595.

¹³ Edward Porter Alexander Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

The battle was a fierce, indecisive, two-day engagement which saw the wounding of Johnston and the passing of command to Robert E. Lee. As at Williamsburg, Magruder's command was out of action, being posted on the left northeast of Richmond in reserve. Toombs's brigade was positioned at Mechanicsville Bridge on the Chickahominy and saw no action.¹⁴

Lee had entrusted the immediate defense of Richmond to Generals Benjamin Huger and Magruder, who were south of the river in positions a few miles east of the city. Huger's division of 9,000 troops constituted the right wing of the defensive alignment. Between Huger and the river was Magruder's corps—six brigades in three divisions, totaling about 13,000 men. Anchoring Magruder's left, a swampy three-quarters of a mile from the Chickahominy, was General D. R. Jones's division, consisting of the 1st Brigade under Toombs and Colonel G. T. Anderson's 3rd Brigade.

Opposing the Confederates south of the river were some 70,000 Federals, well-armed and well-entrenched. It was particularly important that the Confederates hold firm, for a break there might prompt the hesitant Union commander into aggressive action against Richmond while Lee was operating north of the river with the bulk of his forces.

Lee's strategy for demolishing McClellan's right wing was imperfectly initiated. On June 26, the impatient A. P. Hill, in violation of Lee's wishes which called for a simultaneous assault with Jackson, attacked the Union army at Mechanicsville. Confederate losses were heavy and the ground gained insignificant. Undaunted, Lee stifled his disappointment and pushed on, preparing on the twenty-seventh to hurl 55,000 men against the Federal right, then established at Gaines' Mill, a few miles east of Mechanicsville.

The main drama unfolded north of the river on that hot June day, but to the south soldiers were to die no less heroically in the wheat field and woods surrounding the farmhouse of James Garnett. Robert Toombs was the leading actor in this minor engagement. And a disgruntled actor he was. In a letter to Stephens, July 14, he complained that in the weeks leading up to this battle he had been located uncomfortably close to the enemy,

. . . doing the hardest kind of the most dangerous and disagreeable service and in the least desirable positions for any purpose whatever and a large portion of the time without the least conveniences of any kind, most of [the] official work having to be done with a pencil as I could get often neither pen or

¹⁴ It is interesting to note that at the opening of the Peninsular Campaign Toombs had been drinking so heavily his brigade surgeon, Dr. Henry H. Steiner, forced him to a pledge of abstinence. According to the surgeon, Toombs kept his word in the subsequent engagements. Pleasant A. Stovall, *Robert Toombs* (New York, 1892), pp. 249-50.

ink and was debarred the use of lights at night for military reasons arising from close proximity to the enemy.¹⁵

The events of the day were not to lessen the Georgian's discontent. Toombs's brigade was established around the Garnett farmhouse less than a mile from the Chickahominy. The main Union entrenchments were about three-quarters of a mile to the east, near the Golding farmhouse. During the night of the twenty-sixth and the morning of the twenty-seventh, however, a large enemy group moved threateningly close to the Confederates at Garnett's. Toombs's pickets, two hundred yards east of the house, were within one hundred yards of Federal pickets, each post occupying a belt of timber separated "by a field of wheat that promised a good yield."¹⁶ In command of Union forces directly opposite Toombs was future Democratic presidential candidate, General Winfield S. Hancock. "Both positions were strong for defense but an advance from either was hazardous in the extreme," reported General Jones, Toombs's division commander.¹⁷

The sun climbed high in the sky but still no massive action occurred on either side of the river. Then early in the afternoon, Lee hit McClellan north of the Chickahominy at Gaines' Mill. South of the river, Magruder notified Jones "of his intention to feel the enemy along his entire front" and directed his left wing division commander to carry out the order in his sector.¹⁸ The order from Jones to "feel the enemy in their front with strong pickets, and to follow up to the utmost any advantage which may offer or success which may ensue" was communicated to Toombs in writing lest "a serious engagement with his brigade . . . be the result of this movement." A feint and not a general fight, then, was the word that was sent out.¹⁹

Shortly before sunset, Confederate batteries behind Toombs's position opened up on the Union lines, "the most rapid and incessant fire of shell that I had ever witnessed," wrote Colonel Amasa Cobb of the 5th Wisconsin.²⁰ As the cannonading ceased and the shadows lengthened the Southerners moved out, Anderson on the right and Toombs on the left, to carry out the order of "that old ass Magruder"—Toombs's appraisal.²¹

¹⁵ Phillips, *Correspondence*, p. 599. See also OR, XI, pt. 3, 601, for Magruder's concern over Toombs's vermin-infested soldiers.

¹⁶ E. R. Jones, *Four Years in the Army of the Potomac* (London, n.d.), p. 62.

¹⁷ OR, XI, pt. 2, 689.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Toombs gave a slightly different version of the situation. Because of the heavy Federal force in his front, he stated, "I objected to the order and required it in writing and peremptory." Phillips, *Correspondence*, p. 600. Toombs gave the impression that he did not want to advance at all; Jones implied that Toombs had to be controlled lest he precipitate a general engagement. Freeman supported Jones's contention. *Lee's Lieutenants*, I, 543.

²⁰ OR, XI, pt. 2, 476.

²¹ Phillips, *Correspondence*, p. 600.

Toombs ultimately threw his entire brigade into a bloody and inconclusive contest that lasted until twilight blackened into night. When the firing ceased, both lines were pulled in under cover of darkness to await the developments of a new day. North of the Chickahominy, Lee rested in victory. South of the river, an unhappy Toombs pondered his brigade's brave but futile assault.

Lee was still somewhat apprehensive lest a provoked McClellan pierce the slim defenses to the south and capture the capital city. Consequently on June 28, Magruder was ordered not to make an attack on Union forces facing him "unless absolutely certain of success, except in co-operation with the movements of [Lee]."²² Confusion in Magruder's chain of command, however, led Toombs to order an assault by part of Anderson's brigade on Golding's farm, an attack which ended ingloriously. Toombs emerged from the fiasco as the scapegoat but a reading of all the evidence shows that the shortcomings were numerous enough to be shared by all the participants.²³

Early on June 29, Lee issued general orders to his commanders. Magruder and Huger were put in immediate pursuit of the enemy, with Magruder directed to "press him vigorously in front."²⁴ Lee was impatient now, sensing a fine opportunity for McClellan's complete destruction. The day proved disappointing to Lee. McClellan was neither caught nor destroyed and time was now on the Union side. Especially vexing to the Confederate commander was Magruder's faltering pursuit of the Union rear and his timid attack on Federal forces at Savage Station. To accelerate the Confederate movement, Jackson's command, which reached Savage Station early on the thirtieth, was ordered in close pursuit of McClellan. Magruder was removed from the front and sent to the rear and southward down the Darbytown Road in support of Longstreet on McClellan's left flank.

On Monday morning, June 30, Magruder moved out. All day and into the night, for eighteen hours, his men marched, reaching Longstreet around 2:00 A.M. on July 1 in the vicinity of Frayser's Farm. Hot and exhausted, they rested there until daylight. While Magruder and Toombs were marching, Lee had engaged McClellan at Frayser's Farm on the afternoon of the thirtieth. The Union commander again thwarted Lee's attempt to destroy his army.²⁵

By noon of July 1, the Union army was strongly entrenched on Malvern Hill near the James River. Although with little chance of success,

²² OR, XI, pt. 2, 661.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 473-74, 481, 661, 690, 706, 710-11. See also Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, I, 544-46. By a careful analysis of the action, it would seem that the largest share of responsibility in the setback should fall on Gen. Jones.

²⁴ OR, XI, pt. 2, 662.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 696; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XVIII (1890), 61. Hereafter cited as SHSP.

shortly after 4:30 an uneven, ill-coordinated, and ill-omened general infantry assault by the Confederates was launched. As Toombs received orders to move out, a very disheartening scene began to unfold in front of him. "Dense woods, intersected by ravines and occasionally thick brier patches" obliterated vision so that he was "guided only by the enemy's fire in keeping the direction." An open field beyond the woods sloped gently upward to the "red flashes of the [Union] guns and the crimson-looking Federal colors floating above the dark line of men plainly visible."²⁶

Toombs's brigade was situated on the left of the assaulting Confederate right in a supporting position. Order soon melted into an ugly chaos of "whistling bullets and bursting shells, falling trees [and] clouds of smoke" on the death-strewn northern slope of Malvern Hill.²⁷ Confusion mounted in Toombs's sector as "Magruder . . . lost his grip on his troops." Regiments became mixed and separated. "The demoralization was great and the evidences of it palpable everywhere," wrote a Confederate artillery officer.²⁸ Toombs's own brigade became hopelessly disorganized in the course of the attack and many of his men veered to the left and back into the woods skirting the open field. Here Toombs attempted to put his command back together but was unsuccessful.

Up rode General D. H. Hill, whose troops, attacking from the Confederate center, were suffering heavily. An embittered Hill felt that much of the carnage in his division was the result of a lack of support on the right from Magruder, who had not thrown his full force into the initial assault. Angry words were exchanged between the two hot-tempered officers as Hill ordered Toombs's brigade forward in support of a brigade of his own command and personally accompanied it. According to Hill, "The brigade advanced handsomely to the brow of the hill, but soon retreated in disorder."²⁹

Although the fighting at Malvern Hill continued into summer's late darkness, Lee had failed. McClellan was still intact and in good order. The personal war between Hill and Toombs went on for about two weeks after the battle officially closed. Toombs, in an angry correspondence, accused Hill of having derided the fighting qualities of his brigade. Hill replied that the remarks made during the battle were directed at him personally and not at his brigade. "It is notorious," he said, "that you have a thousand times expressed your disgust that the commanding general did not permit you to fight. It is equally notorious that you re-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XXV (1897), 215.

²⁷ Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, I, 602.

²⁸ Robert Stiles, *Four Years under Marse Robert* (New York, 1910), p. 105.

²⁹ OR, XI, pt. 2, 628. In his official report Gen. Jubal A. Early stated that as he moved up to the front with his men, he found "a large number of men retreating in confusion, being mostly from General Toombs' Georgia Brigade." Early tried to rally them, but found it very difficult to do. *Ibid.*, p. 612.

tired from the field." Finding this unsatisfactory, Toombs challenged Hill to a duel. This Hill refused on the grounds that "we have a country to defend and enemies to fight," and such an encounter "would be abhorrent to my principles and character." And so the matter ended.

Thomas R. R. Cobb, in a letter to his wife on July 16, defended Toombs by writing: "Hill did most wantonly charge Toombs with cowardice to his face. He now makes many excuses for not fighting him. Toombs is denouncing Hill as a poltroon. I don't know how it will end, but I think you will hear that Toombs is under arrest in less than a week."³⁰

Another point of view was given by Thomas Jordan, Beauregard's chief of staff, as he explained the incident to his superior:

D. H. Hill told Toombs on the field either to move up or resign his brigade into hands that had the nerve to lead it. Toombs challenged Hill; he declined on religious grounds. Toombs has a divided judgment as to his course, and halts, as an ass between two bundles of hay, whether to resign and cowhide Hill, or resign, make some facile Georgia member of Congress resign, take his place and overturn the Government from the floor of Congress.³¹

During the night after Malvern Hill, the Union army continued its retreat and the next day reached Harrison's Landing on the James River, a position strongly protected by Union gunboats. The Peninsula Campaign was over. The immediate threat to Richmond had been relieved, but Lee was disappointed that he had not destroyed the Union army.

Robert Toombs shared Lee's unhappiness; yet unlike the Virginian, he bubbled over with sharp criticism of the Confederate effort. Writing to Stephens in July, he described the campaign as a great success with McClellan's army "utterly defeated and broken up and demoralized." Success came, however, as the result of "dead hard fighting" and not because of great leadership, since the soldiers "were fought without skill or judgment." In the campaign, Toombs continued,

Stonewall Jackson and his troops did little or nothing . . . and Lee was far below the occasion. If we had had a general in command we could easily have taken McClellan's whole command and baggage. . . . I shall leave the army the instant I can do so without dishonor. Davis and his Janissaries (the regular army) conspire for the destruction of all who will not bend to them, and avail themselves of the public danger to aid them in their selfish and infamous schemes.³²

A reorganization of the Confederate army took place after Malvern Hill. Magruder, a nagging thorn in Lee's flesh, was sent west. D. R. Jones's division of Magruder's command, consisting of Toombs's and

³⁰ SHSP, XXVIII (1900), 294. Toombs was not arrested.

³¹ OR, XVII, pt. 2, 870. Neither course was followed.

³² Phillips, *Correspondence*, pp. 600-601.

Anderson's brigades, was soon placed under General Longstreet. For several weeks all was quiet in the works around Richmond, and Toombs apparently fell prey to a lack of vigilance. One day, according to Henry Kyd Douglas, Stonewall Jackson was inspecting defenses and found that Toombs's picket lines "were not connected on the right or left but were swinging in the air, contrary to Jackson's explicit orders and to his surprise." Jackson rode immediately to Toombs's headquarters and "found this gallant but not very military officer lying under the shade of a small fly-tent at full-length—for it was a very warm day." The routed-out Georgian explained how he passed the responsibility of the picket lines to a staff officer and he in turn to a lesser officer. Toombs was of the opinion that it was "all right, while General Jackson was of the decided opinion it was all wrong." Toombs was told "with some sharpness to go at once, in person, and make the necessary connection and then [Jackson] turned and rode away."³³

On August 10, Cobb wrote his wife that Toombs had recently paid him a visit and, among other things, had expounded on the subject of digging and fortifications. Declared Toombs: "One engineer could find work for all the men that had been sent to hell since Adam sinned, and according to scripture . . . that is a big pile."³⁴

News from above Richmond brought fresh problems to Lee. In June a new Union force, the Army of Virginia, was created under the command of General John Pope. After the failure of McClellan's offensive on the Peninsula, Pope started southward across the Rappahannock River. Lee moved rapidly to meet Pope, hoping to engage him before reinforcements from McClellan could add to his strength. An excellent chance lay within Lee's grasp, for Pope's army was massed between the Rappahannock and Rapidan rivers. If the Union commander could be attacked here he might well be destroyed.

While Confederate plans were being perfected, Toombs became involved in an unfortunate incident reflecting his disinclination to cooperate with the army as a whole except on his own terms. On August 17, Longstreet ordered two regiments of Toombs's brigade posted as a guard on the road leading north to Racoon Ford on the Rapidan River, about thirteen miles east of Lee's headquarters, until the approaching cavalry of Fitzhugh Lee could relieve them. Toombs was not present when the order was received, having galloped off that morning to visit and break bread with a former congressional friend. Colonel H. L. Benning, next in rank to Toombs, complied with Longstreet's command. When Toombs returned, according to Longstreet's account, he came upon his pickets, "claimed that his troops should not have been moved

³³ Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode with Stonewall* (Chapel Hill, 1940), p. 114.

³⁴ *SHSP*, XXVIII (1900), 296.

except by orders through himself, and ordered the detail back to their camps."³⁵

Down the unguarded road early on the morning of the eighteenth came some Federal cavalry on scouting detail. They almost caught the unsuspecting Jeb Stuart, who had spent the night at Verdierville, eight miles south of Racoon Ford, awaiting the arrival of Fitzhugh Lee. Captured was Major Norman Fitzhugh and with him a copy of an order from Lee to Stuart, showing the disposition of Lee's troops and his determination to crush Pope's army before it could be reinforced by McClellan.

When Longstreet heard of what had transpired, he placed Toombs under arrest. The next day (the nineteenth) during a troop movement, Toombs rode in the rear of his brigade, wore his sword in violation of regulations and, from the report of Longstreet's chief of staff, "upon his men going into camp made them a violent speech." This time Longstreet ordered Toombs back to Gordonsville and told him to stay there. Two charges were prepared against Toombs: "withdrawing the regiment from picket duty and breaking his arrest."³⁶

Toombs's own account put events in a different light. In a letter to Stephens from Gordonsville dated August 22, he explained that he had been ordered to have rations cooked and prepared for immediate troop movement. He discovered that A. P. Hill's division was between his pickets and the ford and felt that there was no need for his men to remain on duty any longer, particularly since they had to cook and make ready. When Longstreet could not be found, on his own authority he ordered his men back in. Then, failing to mention the Stuart incident, he told Stephens that Longstreet had put him under arrest for "usurpation of authority."

The next day, Toombs continued, he rode forward to ask Longstreet to suspend the arrest so he could fight in the impending action.

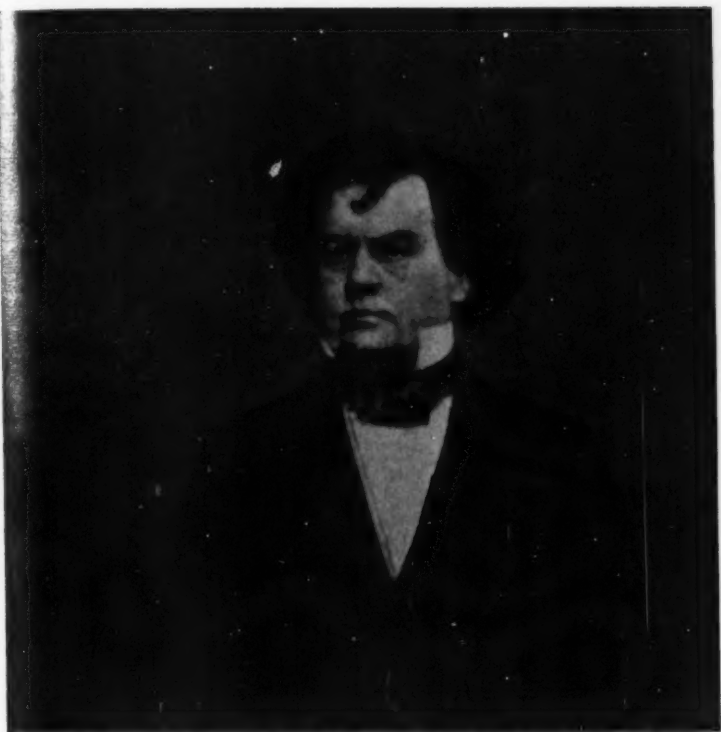
Unfortunately for me as I got up to my brigade it raised a loud cheer, which so incensed the magnates Lee and Longstreet, etc., who were near by, that I got no reply to my request but was ordered peremptorily to this place [Gordonsville] and two charges put in against me for breaking my arrest and disobeying orders in not immediately coming here.

In conclusion, Toombs stated, "My zeal for the public service and desire to prepare my starving regiment for battle is my sole and only fault."³⁷

³⁵ James Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox* (Philadelphia, 1898), p. 161.

³⁶ G. Moxley Sorrel, *Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer* (New York, 1905), pp. 100-101.

³⁷ Phillips, *Correspondence*, pp. 603-4. In *The Life of Robert Toombs*, pp. 244-45, Phillips stated that Toombs was arrested for a "trivial disobedience of orders." Yet, notwithstanding Toombs's elaborate defense to Stephens, the Georgia officer was clearly guilty of violating orders and endangering Confederate security.



Originally considered for the Confederate presidency, Robert Toombs proved a profane, portly, and aristocratic Southern statesman who had unlimited confidence in the righteousness of his own opinions. That Toombs was permitted to rave and rant in the army was perhaps due to the feeling that it was better to have him shouting in the emptiness of a field rather than on the floor of the Confederate Congress.



This wartime photograph of Burnside's Bridge shows in the background the heights on which Toombs's troops were posted. Why Burnside insisted on effecting a crossing of the fordable Antietam at this one particular spot has long been a point of conjecture.

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Toombs did not join his command until August 30 at the second battle of Manassas. Released from arrest, he reached his cheering soldiers near dark at the conclusion of hostilities and informed them dramatically: "Boys, I am proud of the report given me of you by General Jones. I could not be with you to-day, but this was owing to no fault of mine. To-morrow I lead you."³⁸

A few days later, Lee's victorious army splashed across the Potomac River into Maryland in quest of political and military goals. The plans of the Confederate general were abruptly changed, however, when McClellan found a copy of his orders for the movements of his troops, revealing a split in the Southern forces. Lee was forced west toward Sharpsburg as he anxiously hoped for the arrival of his troops from Harpers Ferry before McClellan could strike in full force.

At Sharpsburg, the Confederate line of defense was established between Antietam Creek and the Potomac River in the hills just east of town. Lee's thinly manned lines extended about three miles north and south, with D. R. Jones's division on the right flank south and east of town near the sluggish little creek. The key to the Confederate right was a bridge over the knee-deep Antietam which would support at most a narrow column of eight men abreast. The Confederate bank of the creek rose steeply for about fifty yards below and above the bridge and was thinly covered with trees. A rail fence ran along the top of the slope.

Toombs's orders were to hold the bridge as long as possible and when dislodged to move to a hill below the bridge, which commanded a fording place suitable for infantry and artillery. When this position became untenable, he was to join the rest of the division, posted about one-half mile to the rear on the heights near town. On the morning of the battle, Wednesday, September 17, Toombs found himself with a depleted brigade. Two of his regiments, the 15th and 17th, had been detailed to protect a Confederate wagon train from Union cavalry and had not returned. In compensation he had been given Drayton's 50th Georgia, reduced in strength, and a company of South Carolinians from General Micah Jenkins' brigade.

Toombs's position lent itself favorably to defense. The road leading to the bridge from the Union side paralleled the creek for about a hundred yards. This afforded the Confederates a devastating flanking fire of pistol range before the bridge could be reached. Two regiments, the 2nd and the 20th Georgia, some 400 strong, were placed behind trees and fence rail barricades at the top of the slope looking down on the bridge. The other troops under Toombs's command were extended thinly downstream to the lower ford.

³⁸ OR, XII, pt. 2, 591. Some sources allege that Toombs arrived on the field in time to lead his brigade in action, yet the regimental officers all tended to discount this in their reports. See *Ibid.*, pp. 580, 585, 587-88.

On the sixteenth, most of Lee's scattered forces had returned as McClellan characteristically withheld attack. On the morning of September 17, Lee awaited the Union assault with an army reduced by extreme straggling to less than 40,000 men. McClellan had 80,000 at his disposal. From dawn to darkness the battle of Antietam was fought. Each general Union attack—on the Confederate left, center, and right—came close to spelling destruction for Lee's veterans. Particularly on the Confederate right was survival snatched from the jaws of defeat at the last possible moment.

Around 9:00 A.M., the first attempt was made to carry the bridge by Union forces under General Ambrose E. Burnside. It was repulsed. By one o'clock, the intrepid 400 had turned back four additional assaults, fighting "until their gun barrels were too hot for the naked hands."³⁹ But the situation worsened. Ammunition was low, and Federals were obviously massing for an all-out attack at the bridge.

At one o'clock, with artillery fire playing heavily on the Confederates across the creek, fresh Union troops with bayonets fixed rushed the bridge and this time effected a crossing. Toombs's weary men now fell back all along the line as the Federals flooded the bridge in large numbers and began wading across the Antietam at the fords.

Realizing the futility of contesting the fords as previously instructed, Toombs moved to a new position about a half-mile southwest of the bridge: a hillside cornfield almost surrounded by a rail and stone fence. Before the deployment was completed, his absent brigades, the 15th and 17th plus five companies of the 11th Georgia, arrived and relieved the front-line defenders, who were sent to the rear for rest and ammunition. For two hours the Federal buildup on the Confederate side of the Antietam continued. By three o'clock, Burnside's troops were ready for the advance on Sharpsburg. "[The] heavy [Union] line move[d] up the hill, and the earth seemed to tremble beneath their tread." For the outnumbered Confederates of Jones's division holding the heights south and east of town, "it was a splendid and fearful sight."⁴⁰

The Union attack crunched forward successfully, smashed the Southerners in front of Sharpsburg, and reached the outskirts of town. The day was almost lost. At this moment Lee received the thrilling news that A. P. Hill was coming up with the last of the Confederate forces from Harpers Ferry, his "battle flags gleaming redly against the dark background."⁴¹

Toombs meanwhile had been ordered from his position, which had escaped the main Federal assault, to the heights occupied by remnants

³⁹ SHSP, XXXI (1903), 40.

⁴⁰ R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884-87), II, 629.

⁴¹ SHSP, XXXI (1903), 42.

of Jones's division. Advancing swiftly with a reduced brigade, he found as he neared the town that Union troops had pierced the Confederate defenses, were occupying his designated place on the battle line, and were threatening to cut Lee's line of retreat to the Potomac. After rallying a portion of J. L. Kemper's broken brigade, Toombs threw his men back into battle. A member of the 1st Virginia noted that the General galloped "up and down the line like one frantic, telling the men to stand firm."⁴²

Toombs's men and the footsore troops of A. P. Hill struck the Federals simultaneously. The Union assault faltered, ground to a halt, and then receded downhill to the protection of the high banks along the creek. An exultant Toombs wanted to push the enemy across the Antietam and regain his earlier position. But, to his discomfort, Toombs was ordered by Jones to return to the heights near town and there encamp for the night.

On the following evening Toombs and part of his staff were riding to the headquarters of Colonel Benning when they stumbled upon a troop of Federal cavalry. A short engagement followed, in which Toombs was shot through the hand.⁴³ He journeyed to Georgia to recuperate and to meditate on his situation. His action at Burnside's Bridge had drawn high praise from all quarters, but he was far from happy. His wound healed too slowly; he did not receive the promotion to major general he felt he had earned; and in Toombs's eyes that "scoundrel Jeff Davis" seemed bent on ruining not only him but the entire Confederacy as well.⁴⁴

In that unhappy state the Georgian resigned from the army in March, 1863. Though burning antipathy to Davis was at the root of his decision, Toombs did not elaborate on causes in his farewell message to his troops. "Under existing circumstances," he stated simply, "I [can] no longer hold my commission under President Davis with advantage to my country, or to you, or with honor to myself."⁴⁵ Toombs's resignation became a conversation piece throughout the Confederacy. J. B. Jones, a government clerk in Richmond, noted in his diary that the move created "some sensation" in town. In Jones's opinion, Toombs's resignation stemmed from the "failure of the President to promote him to higher position, which he may have deemed himself entitled to, from his genius, ante-

⁴² Joseph T. Durkin (ed.), *John Dooley, Confederate Soldier: His War Journal* (Georgetown, 1945), p. 47.

⁴³ Stovall, *Robert Toombs*, p. 268. In *OR*, XIX, pt. 1, 841, is the statement that Toombs was "severely wounded at the close of the engagement."

⁴⁴ Phillips, *Correspondence*, pp. 607-9. See also Stovall, *Robert Toombs*, pp. 269-71; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, II, 257, 273. Only P. C. T. Beauregard seems to have thought Toombs deserving of promotion. *OR*, XIV, 828.

⁴⁵ Phillips, *Correspondence*, p. 612.

⁴⁶ J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* (New York, 1935), I, 273.

cedents, wealth, etc. But it is probable he will cause some disturbance."⁴⁶

The record of Robert Toombs as a Confederate soldier was hardly exemplary, and it is doubtful if the Southern high command felt grieved at his departure. He was headstrong, at times insubordinate, and given on occasion to commanding his brigade "as a sovereign and independent body."⁴⁷ Although possessed of spirit, gallantry, and a deep devotion to those who served under him, Toombs had too many shortcomings to endear himself to Richmond authorities. He could have better served the Cause had he been willing to bridle his actions and his tongue. But, then, that would not have been Robert Toombs.

⁴⁷ Stovall, *Robert Toombs*, p. 272.

DRAFT RIOT IN WISCONSIN, 1862

Lawrence H. Larsen

IN AUGUST, 1862, President Abraham Lincoln ordered the states to conscript 300,000 militia into the Union army. The task of raising Wisconsin's quota of 11,804 men complicated the problems of Governor Edward Salomon and his military advisers, and they turned to the machinery of local government for assistance. Sheriffs enrolled all male citizens between eighteen and forty-five years of age, other officials assigned quotas, and the Governor appointed draft commissioners and examining surgeons to handle the selection and processing of the draftees.

The people of Wisconsin, their spirits dampened by a year of increasingly bloody conflict, greeted the news of the draft with little enthusiasm. Mobs disrupted the proceedings in various localities, and serious property damage occurred in lakeshore Ozaukee County, a primarily agricultural area that boasted a low enlistment rate and a high Democratic vote. Over half of the county's 15,000 residents were either Roman Catholics from the Belgian province of Luxembourg or Protestant Germans. The two foreign-born elements, neither of which had been in the United States for any great length of time, resented the war, Lincoln, abolitionists, and Republicans. They also disliked each other. Religious and social animosities caused difficulties between them, and economics played an intangible role. The clannish Luxembourgers, many of whom owned prosperous farms, felt discriminated against in their business dealings with local German and native-American merchants, who lived in the county's trading center of Port Washington. The draft, however, overshadowed all differences of opinion. The county's quota of 575 men galled the citizenry. As a result of the inadequate enlistment rate, the call exceeded that of any other Wisconsin county of comparable population. Claims that many farm youths ran away to join the army in other places fell on the deaf ears of state authorities, who suspected that such potential soldiers—if any existed—actually fled to Canada in order to evade military service.¹

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¹ Several secondary accounts emphasize economic and religious angles without citing primary evidence. Unfortunately none of the source materials available comment directly on the causes of the riot.

The Republican governor added fuel to the potential conflagration when, by attempting to demonstrate the impartiality of the draft, he appointed Democrats to the posts of commissioner and examining surgeon. His selections proved unfortunate. He ignored the choices put forward by a mass meeting held in Port Washington and instead appointed two German Protestants, who were also very active Masons. Both men aroused ire by exempting several of their seemingly able-bodied Masonic friends from military service. The commissioner, William Pors, received threats against his life; patriotic appeals by German and native-American businessmen and politicians urging compliance with the draft went for nought; and several Luxembourgers called a protest demonstration that "kindled a flame, which soon outran their control."²

A militant, aggressive group of Luxembourgers, supported by the curious, the rowdy, and a handful of German farmers, prepared for positive action. On November 10, 1862, the date set for the drafting, large numbers of men and women of all ages converged on the courthouse in Port Washington, where the drawing of names was to take place. On the way into town the more boisterous and thirsty stopped at crossroads, fortified themselves with liberal quantities of whiskey, and aired grievances against the general state of the world. Pors, who considered himself popular because he recently had been re-elected district attorney, expected to be forcibly resisted by a large number of people. "Trusting therefore to God and the righteousness of my cause," he stated, "I concluded to proceed with my duties manfully, hoping at the same time, that I could by persuasion and agreement induce the citizens from their evil intentions."

When the commissioner arrived at the three-story, red-brick court house, a surly mob of about 1,000 people awaited him. Women carried a banner bearing the inscription "NO DRAFT." Men brandished "stones, brick-bats and other missiles." When Pors mounted the courthouse steps to plead for "reason," rowdies, actively assisted by irate females, assaulted him. "I was pushed, kicked," he recounted, "my hair torn, my clothes ripped and myself knocked on the head." After tossing Pors down the stairs, the assailants smashed the draft box. Pors staggered to his feet in a bleeding condition just as the sheriff and two deputies intervened. They helped him gain sanctuary behind the stout doors of the nearby post office—where the examining surgeon already cowered. After the doctor treated Pors's wounds, the frightened commissioner tried to conceal himself in the basement, from where he could hear "the mob howling for my life."

² *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Wisconsin for the Year 1862* (Madison, 1863), p. 163.

The rioters soon tired of trying to ferret him out of his hiding place and turned back to the courthouse. "Good citizens" smuggled Pors out of Port Washington in a covered carriage drawn by two snorting horses. The vehicle bumped and lurched down the road toward Milwaukee, safety, and the telegraph line to the state capitol in Madison.³

The disruption of the draft failed to satisfy some 300 men and women who ignored the leadership of Nicholas Kemp, a prominent Luxembourg merchant.⁴ An uncontrollable crowd sacked the courthouse became crazed with confiscated liquor, and accordingly "wreaked their vengeance upon several eminent citizens who had been counseling obedience to the laws." Rioters wrecked Pors's house, demolished the homes of six known supporters of the draft, looted a warehouse and, for good measure, tore up the Masonic meeting hall. A few persons "who were merely passing through the crowd were beaten with clubs and stones and finally saved by others more moderate or humane." A reporter wrote that "the village looks as though a tornado had swept through some portions of it, completely gutting several fine mansions, and devastating the grounds around them."⁵

After hours of "pillage and plunder" the "factious men, who are never content unless engaged in some riotous proceedings"⁶ quieted down. Yet for the next two days many of Port Washington's 2,300 inhabitants lived in terror, even though forty armed men arrived from nearby Saukville to maintain order. Some people fled into the surrounding countryside; others forced a newspaper editor to print handbills pleading for no further destruction of property. Fearing repercussions, a few rioters damaged the wharf and barricaded the streets in the hope of preventing action by the state or Federal governments. Two men turned their attention to another matter. According to one newspaper, they "entered the kitchen of a merchant named John Eckle, and were there detected in an act with the servant girl which would be improper to mention."⁷

The state government dealt quickly with the disturbance. The telegraph wires hummed after Pors completed the twenty-mile flight to Milwaukee. Governor Salomon informed the Federal government, issued an appropriate proclamation, and ordered the 28th Wisconsin Volunteers, stationed at Camp Washburn near Milwaukee, to Ozaukee County. A special provost marshal, empowered to restore order, arrest,

³ "Statement of the claim of William S. Pors, A Account of the draft riot of Ozaukee C. Wis.," Executive Department, Administration and Organization of the Army, Ser. I, 5-11. This and other records cited from either the Wisconsin Executive Department or Wisconsin Adjutant General's Office are in Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Numerous newspaper accounts tell essentially the same story that Pors related.

⁴ *Annual Report of Adjutant General*, p. 163.

⁵ *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, Nov. 13, 17, 1862.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1862.

⁷ *Milwaukee Daily Wisconsin*, Nov. 12, 13, 1862.

punish, and carry out the draft, commanded the troops.⁸ In a frenzy of activity, 754 heavily armed officers and men embarked on two commandeered schooners, the *Comet* and the *Sunbeam*. A false report that the insurgents had three loaded cannons added a note of urgency to the military preparations. Early on November 12, the volunteers landed at the sleepy hamlet of Port Ulao, five miles south of Port Washington. They marched to their objective, surrounded the town, and moved forward with bayonets glistening in the sun. "Advancing in this manner," a Milwaukee newspaper correspondent reported, "the scouts soon came into contact with some of the rioters, who appeared frightened out of their wits, having become aware of the presence of a body of troops. . . . The lines of soldiers gradually closed up, and the rioters were completely bagged—caught amid the ruin and destruction they had made!" Eighty-one people, including several women, yielded meekly to the advancing soldiers. Kemp, the original leader of the demonstration, surrendered "tame as a chicken, and wrang his hands in an agony of cowardice," while "the Luxembourgers all cowed down like curs."⁹

The wheels of military justice began to turn to cage what were called "the modern *Santerres* and *Marats*." The provost marshal, whom the Governor commended for "excellent judgement," suspended habeas corpus, held court, and eventually shipped 131 prisoners to Milwaukee. He released some men, plus the "bitter and vindictive women" in Port Washington. "The prisoners all have a hearing at headquarters," an observer wrote, "before they are brought away from the port, and so far the troops have been remarkably successful in arresting only those who are guilty."¹⁰ For almost a week scouting parties combed the county, and they seldom returned without bringing in a fresh batch of suspected troublemakers. The army finished its work on November 17, when most of the troops withdrew. Two companies remained until the end of the month to discourage further disorder. "Our Whitewater boys [from the 28th Wisconsin] have acquitted themselves nobly here," a soldier said, "and they will be long remembered kindly by the people." The same trooper observed that women cried when he helped take their menfolk away from them.¹¹

In Milwaukee armed guards paraded the alleged rioters, almost all of whom were Luxembourgers, through the main thoroughfares. The state

⁸ Edward Salomon to Edwin Stanton, Nov. 10, 1862, Executive Department, Administration, Military Letters and Telegrams, Ser. I, I, 5-6; Edward Salomon to Walter McIndoe, Executive Department, Letters Sent, Ser. I, I, 1-11.

⁹ Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel*, Nov. 13, 1862; Milwaukee *Daily Wisconsin*, Nov. 13, 1862.

¹⁰ Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel*, Nov. 13, 1862.

¹¹ "R," Nov. 19, 1862, "Correspondence of Wisconsin Volunteers, 1861-1865." This is a ten-volume collection of newspaper clippings compiled by E. B. Quiner for his *Military History of Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1886).

authorities forced the sullen prisoners to chop wood in Camp Washburn, and then shipped them on to Madison for incarceration in the Camp Randall Bull Pen, described as "a single room, or board shanty, about 30 feet wide and 50 in length." An eyewitness noted that "they were all dressed in every day clothes and presented generally a sorry-looking spectacle."¹² The governor soon paroled sixteen of the captives, but the rest languished behind bars while Republican newspapers demanded severe punishment for them. The *Madison Weekly Patriot*, an ardent Democratic newspaper suspected of Copperhead leanings, championed the prisoners' cause. The editor charged that the Bull Pen held the innocent, that intolerable conditions existed inside, that the government resolved the men's cases slowly, and that abolitionist rioters went free. "All we ask," demanded an editorial, "is that these men—innocent or guilty—shall have *as fair a chance* for their lives and liberties as Republicans claim for niggers."¹³ Freedom concerned the Ozaukee prisoners as well. They petitioned Governor Salomon "to grant us the favor to give us an early hearing so that it can be proved whether we are guilty or innocent and that the innocent men can return home again to their daily vocations."¹⁴

Salomon had trouble obtaining instructions from the Federal government on what to do with the prisoners. Several telegrams sent to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton went unanswered, and the commander of Camp Douglas in Chicago refused a request to have the men transferred to his jurisdiction. Finally, in December, the War Department directed the release, parole, enlistment, or drafting of all except sixteen ringleaders.¹⁵ Nicholas Kemp, one of those still held, petitioned the Wisconsin Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus. On January 13, 1863, the court condemned the riot and refused to release the prisoners, but it added that Salomon, who acted under a proclamation issued by Lincoln, illegally suspended habeas corpus outside of a war zone. This action from a court Salomon described as "loyal and patriotic" constituted a threat to the growing power of the Federal executive department.¹⁶

¹² *Madison Weekly Patriot*, Nov. 29, 1862; *Madison Wisconsin State Journal*, Nov. 14, 1862.

¹³ *Madison Weekly Patriot*, Nov. 22, 29, and Dec. 6, 1862.

¹⁴ Ozaukee County Prisoners to Edward Salomon, Nov. 29, 1862, Executive Department, Ser. I, I, 5-11.

¹⁵ Edward Salomon to Edwin Stanton, Nov. 10, 12, 17, 24, 1862, and U.S. Officer Commanding at Camp Douglas to Edward Salomon, Nov. 14, 1862, Executive Department, Administration, Military Letters and Telegrams, Ser. I, I, 5-6; C. P. Buckingham to Augustus Gaylord, Dec. 8, 1862, Executive Department, Administration, Correspondence with U.S. and Other Governments, Ser. I, I, 1-7.

¹⁶ Edward Salomon to Edwin Stanton, Jan. 13, 1863, Executive Department, Ser. I, I, 5-6; *In re Kemp, Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1879), XVI, 384-421; Fred Shannon, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army* (Cleveland, 1928), II, 200-203.

President Lincoln dispatched Senator Timothy Howe of Wisconsin to study the court records. After reaching Madison, Howe, acting under instructions from Stanton, paroled the remaining prisoners unconditionally, and secured a rehearing of the case. The Senator brought pressure to bear upon the three justices. "You have no right to issue the order that will ground your barque . . . you must not give that judgement," he told a judge running for re-election.¹⁷ On March 25, 1863, the court reversed itself and held the suspension of habeas corpus a valid exercise of Federal power. Stanton telegraphed Howe that the decision brought "exceedingly great joy" and did much to "correct the evil occasioned by the action of your supreme court."¹⁸

Meanwhile, in Ozaukee County, H. J. Turner, a new draft commissioner, reported that he had "driven the draft forward with all possible dispatch." Yet affairs failed to run smoothly. The newly organized Waubeke Home Guard Rifle Company, which Turner hoped would protect him, helped little because none of its members owned rifles. Several "desperadoes" sent to Camp Washburn promptly deserted; many potential draftees claimed alien status; and citizens again asserted that the commissioner conscripted men unjustly. Turner wrote frequently to the Governor, bitterly protesting that "those infernal scamps that have been arrested . . . are bound to dodge from justice by some inefficiency," that more arrests would equal further violence, that unknown persons threatened his life, and that he needed additional military support.¹⁹ Salomon ignored Turner's communications, and the adjutant general failed to act on requests for 100 rifles for the Waubeke Home Guard Rifle Company.²⁰ Other draft commissioners and home guard officers besieged the executive offices with similar complaints; however, the Governor considered the riot a closed matter.

Perhaps the destruction of property in Port Washington reflected political, economic, religious, and ethnic problems not always apparent in the Wisconsin of Civil War times. On the other hand, "40 rod whiskey" may have been a more important motivating factor. The case of *In re Kemp* constituted the most important aftermath of the riot. Howe's trip to Wisconsin and the subsequent reversal of the decision demonstrated that Lincoln did not intend to let a state court interfere with the

¹⁷ Timothy Howe to Luther Dixon, Mar. 11, 1863, Timothy Howe Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

¹⁸ U.S. War Dept. (comp.), *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. II, V, 190.

¹⁹ H. J. Turner to Augustus Gaylord, Nov. 19, 1862, Adjutant General, Incoming Correspondence, Ser. XXXVII, X, 1; Petitions from Ozaukee County Residents to Edward Salomon, Feb. 1, 15, 1863, and H. J. Turner to Edward Salomon, Dec. 22, 1862, and Jan. 7, 12, 1863, Executive Department, Ser. I, I, 5-11.

²⁰ G. W. Fosler to Augustus Gaylord, Nov. 17 and Dec. 22, 1862, Adjutant General, Ser. XXXVII, I, 1.

nationalizing tendencies of his administration. In Wisconsin several victims of the riot successfully petitioned the legislature for compensation after the Federal government turned down their requests. Pors, who no longer considered himself popular, moved to West Bend, Wisconsin, which he deemed a safer community than Port Washington. Later in the war the state of Wisconsin listed several of the prisoners as deserters when they left Ozaukee County to avoid subsequent draft calls.²¹ Evidently the rigors of military life—even outside the Bull Pen—held little appeal for them.

²¹ C. P. Buckingham to Augustus Gaylord, Dec. 8, 1862, Executive Department, Ser. I, I, 7; "Pors Statement," and "Complete List of Rioters," Executive Department, Ser. I, I, 5-11; *List of Persons, Residents of the State of Wisconsin, Reported as Deserters from the Military and Naval Service of the United States* (Madison, 1867), pp. 68-213.

A SIGNAL OFFICER WITH GRANT: THE LETTERS OF CAPTAIN CHARLES L. DAVIS

Edited by Wayne C. Temple

Charles L. Davis was born at New Brighton (Beaver County), Pennsylvania, on February 27, 1839. He graduated from the Lawrenceville (N. J.) Classical and Commercial High School and when the Civil War began was living in Philadelphia. On April 24, 1861, he was mustered into the Commonwealth Artillery Company of Philadelphia as a private. Captain James E. Montgomery was his commander, and this infantry unit went immediately to reinforce the garrison at Fort Delaware. Since the men had enlisted for only three months, Davis was discharged with the unit on August 5, 1861. But a few days later (on August 20) he accepted a commission as second lieutenant in Company D of the 31st Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry. Because of his prior service, Davis won the first promotion of his regiment and became first lieutenant of Company E on September 1. Before the year was out, he was sent to Washington to work on the defenses of the city.

After the battles of Seven Pines and Fair Oaks (May 31-June 1, 1862) the 31st became the 82nd Pennsylvania. Davis learned on January 15, 1863, he had been named captain of Company A, and his commission was issued a few days later. However, since December 28, 1861, he had been detailed as a signal officer and was absent from his regiment most of the time, being at such places as Georgetown, Front Royal, Beaufort, and Fort Monroe. Finally, on June 19, 1863, he received his appointment as captain in the Signal Corps. Then on October 14, 1863, Davis was ordered to join the Army of the Potomac's headquarters staff. From January 1, 1865, until the end of the war he was the Chief Signal Officer of this army.

Secretary of War E. M. Stanton breveted him major on June 15, 1865, but the Senate failed to ratify this promotion. Yet when he was mustered

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out of service on August 18, Colonel B. F. Fisher, Chief Signal Officer of the U.S.A., gave him a letter of commendation. "Before our official relations are entirely dissolved," wrote Colonel Fisher, "allow me thus to express to you my high appreciation of your patriotism, energy, zeal, and ability as a soldier. Being associated together for months in arduous campaigns, dangerous duty, and long marches, as well as camp life, the strong lines of your character became apparent and are so much admired. . . ."

Army life appealed to Davis, and on February 23, 1866, he went back into the service as a second lieutenant in the 10th Infantry. Soon he was promoted to first lieutenant and his commission was dated back to his re-entry into the army. Again Davis was recommended for the brevet rank of major. At this time he was at Fort Snelling in Minnesota. The order was dated October 31, 1867, and was signed "U. S. Grant, Secretary of War, *ad interim*!" With Grant's backing the Senate confirmed the appointment. By March 20, 1879, Davis was a captain in the regular army, and he continued to advance in rank. Before his death on November 10, 1919, he had become a brigadier general.¹

Although there are only a very few of Davis' letters in the collection at Lincoln Memorial University, these are valuable for the information which they contain. He also kept a personal diary during the year 1863, but it is merely a "weather report" without any mention of places visited while traveling with the signal service. It has not been reproduced here. However, his little diary written May 2-12, 1865, traces the movements of the Army of the Potomac from Burkeville, Virginia, to Washington, D.C., and is printed below. Most accounts of the Civil War fail to trace the exact march of this grand old army back to Washington after Lee's surrender.

In the letters of Davis one sees the reason for his enlistment, the work on the forts at Washington, General Grant's actions in camp near Spotylvania Court House, the mine at Petersburg, and the end of the war. At times he discloses the work of the Signal Corps. Because Davis was an educated man, the letters are relatively free of spelling errors and have been transcribed just as he wrote them.

CAMP ON QUEENS FARM (31st P.V.)
[near Washington, D.C.]
Nov. 5th 1861

¹ Davis' service record and pension record in National Archives, courtesy Dr. C. Percy Powell; Davis Papers, L.M.U.; Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-5* (Harrisburg, 1869), II, 1210; Frank H. Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1913), pp. 5, 38, 345; and William H. Powell, *Records of Living Officers of the U.S. Army* (Philadelphia, 1890), pp. 166-67.

DEAR MOTHER²

The receipt of a letter from sister today reminds me of a letter due home & I seat myself in my tent to drop you a line. It is quite cool as we yet have no fires in our tents. I have entirely recovered from my sickness & never had such an appetite in my life. I eat everything brought before me. We have a very good cook but I am sorry to say he is about to leave us—feels homesick & being colored is afraid to go over into Va. We will have to get another at once. I am getting quite used to this rough weather & shun a fire so I may *acclimate* myself. We will have to do it & I might as well commence. Napoleon would carry on a campaign without any tents & with snow feet deep & he roughing it as did his men. Gen. McClellan says we will not winter here. His watchword is "Onward to Richmond." A grand battle (or battles) must be fought ere we reach there. We seem to think however that here we will stay as we are constantly engaged on the fortifications near here, cutting, clearing, digging &c and there is work enough for our brigade there all winter. There are several forts within sight. Fort Saratoga with eight 7 in. guns—Fort Bunker Hill with 8 of the same—Fort (I forget the name)³ with sixteen 8 in. guns & within gun-shot of our camp they are putting up another. They are all of course on hills each one costing the gov. thousands of dollars. To give you an idea of the war expense our reg. alone for the past two months will draw in *pay* from thirty-five to forty thousand dollars & subsistence &c will put *our* reg. expense at fifty thousand dollars & we have done scarcely anything but drill &c. We drill in the morn from 6½ to 7½—are roused out of bed every morn at 6 o'ck & the drum corps always get behind my tent. Battallion drill from 9 to 11 o'ck & every fine afternoon brigade drill from 1 to 4 o'ck & when not we drill by comp[any] in skirmishing. We are daily becoming more proficient & will soon be equipped in blue fitting us admirably for the field when we take it and when you hear of the 31st she will not have neglected her duty.

I like this weather very much were it not for the cold nights & morns when on acct. of the darkness I cannot take exercise. I sleep warm on a straw-cot with four blankets over me. Our co[mpan]y [E] is not yet full & we use the unissued company blankets. I shall purchase sufficient when obliged to. The storm of Saturday was terrible & made it a dreary day in camp. Several of our tents blew down & to protect ours we went out in the rain & tightened the pins. I find Lieut. [Henry C.] Yeager (our 2nd Lt.) a very agreeable companion.

Tomorrow we go on grand guard & will be out for 36 hours—during the day & night I shall have to occassionally ride along the posts for a distance of five or six miles to visit the sentries. At night I'll get but little

² Mrs. E. H. Davis, St. Georges, Del.³ Either Ft. Hayer or Ft. Lincoln.

sleep & that in all probability on the ground. We shall be fortunate if we get any place better. This is our duty about once a week. Of course we take a days rations with us. Our post will probably be outside the district in Montgomery Co., Md. & we are instructed to seize any suspicious persons or surround any suspected house. To ensure you that I shall be *rather* comfortable I will tell you that our servant will bring out to us each our rubber blankets & a pair of blankets, overcoat & gum-coat in case of rain. We go at 8 o ck & return the next day about noon.

Our Col. [David H. Williams] is playing hob with his officers. He has several under arrest for slight offences, one to be court-martialed & several to go before the examining [board] on acct. of inefficiency. He also is making himself unpopular with his officers & men by the use of rough & profane language on drill & elsewhere. I like him very well & he has treated me extremely well even to more than I could expect but he is not a military man by any means; but I am thankful he has field officers who can keep him in the right track. Our brigadier Gen. [L. P. Graham] is a West-Pointer & we have confidence in him. Our brigade drills are conducted by Brig. Gen. [Don Carlos] Buell who being the senior Brigadier commands the division. He is an officer whom we all esteem highly & I think very highly of him. He reproves & points out errors so gentlemanly. He visits our camps sometimes before daybreak. One morn. he came to me when I had the co[mpan]y out & inquiring for the 1st Lieut. had me acct. for the absence of the Capt. & after giving me a few hints about discipline & the drill remarked "You have no sword on Lieut. How is this? You should never appear without it on duty as it sets a bad example to your men." He said it so kindly & gentlemanly that I formed a liking to him. He is universally popular & high in the estimation of Gen. McClellan.

I have just been out superintending roll-call at tattoo (8½ o ck) & Taps has just been beat. I feel like retiring to prepare for tomorrow but must finish this letter first. Lieut. Yeager lies on his cot asleep on my left & my own cot looks very inviting on my right. Capt. [H. L.] H[umphrey] was absent again last week for a number of days & is so often off or on duty that I may say that I have in reality been Capt. of this co[mpan]y since its start for the first & nearly all the drilling & discipline & about muster day the entire mustering has been done by myself.⁴

All the official papers of any importance bear my signatures. Even now that he is here we Lieuts. do all the drilling on all occasions. Sister asks how it was that mine was the first promotion. Well, the vacancy occurred & I stepped into it. More vacancies and promotions will occur when this military guillotine (the examining board) gets to work. Since

⁴Capt. H. L. Humphrey was discharged on a surgeon's certificate on May 16, 1862.

I last wrote to you I believe we have had once or twice marching orders but they have become frequent occurrences. When they have a battle & make an advance on the other side *then* we will move.

Here we are (I might say) *detailed* to work on these forts. I am glad to hear that Winnie is going to have a chance to improve his education. If there is anything among my clothes at home that you think I may not want & will suit him, take it. I intend also when we are paid which will be in a few days to send home my trunk & many of its contents & probably something in it may suit him. I will purchase a new & more suitable (smaller & leather, heavy) one.

And mother, your anniversary will soon be around again. . . . May you live many more long years to be the blessing to your family that you have always been. I would have written this on the anniversary of your natal day but felt that it must be done sooner.

I suppose you have seen the acct. of the presentation of our colors. I will (if I can get one) send you a paper containing full acct. of it. After the presentation a grand supper was set out & speeches made some of which (one by Col. Cochran of the N.Y. Chasseurs & memb. of cong.) were really excellent. He closed with the words that our motto should be "Silence in the ranks!! Forward, march—to Richmond." Hon. Simon Cameron & other dignitaries were here & spoke.

Now I must see your letters. Do not be worried, mother. I am comfortable (a little cold) & have plenty to eat & good while we have a good Sutler in camp. I am sorry to hear that Gen. Fremont ~~is~~ to be superceded in Miss[ouri], but the resignation of Gen. Scott has been long expected & a good man (McClellan) is at the head of the grand army.

I *will* write to Coz. Annie Wells in a few days & feel sorry I did not sooner.

I am glad to hear that Newt & Hugh are getting along so well at their sanctus sanctorum. It must seem like new work to Newt. We expect to be paid off up to Nov. 1st in a few days when I will remit the amt. I borrowed of Uncle Hugh & liquidate my debts & feel once more like a free man & after this hope to save for the future. I'm determined to come out somewhere at the end of this war.

Sister asks about my rheumatism. I do not feel it now but shall always be subject to it in damp weather while in camp. I occasionally feel it in my right arm but to no serious inconvenience. Everybody has it there.

If there is a prospect of our remaining here we shall get a stove but until severe weather I shun fire as it will do more harm than good.

I hope Aunt Ann will succeed in getting into gov. service; but she won't like it at all. She *can* obtain the position if she is energetic. I hope father will attend to Mr. Auger's bill. It has already lain too long on *my* part & I hope no longer delay will occur. I intended the money to pay for

two years up to July 14th 1862. . . . It is time for my light to be out & I must "douse the glim." As to coming home I can't say when such an event will occur. Good night. Love to all friends. This time tomorrow night I shall probably be in bed outdoors on the ground.

NEAR SPOTSYLVANIA C.H.

May 20/64

9 P.M.

MY DEAR MOTHER

How glad I was to receive your letter today. We have been lying at this point some days moving around. Skirmishing & fighting nearly every day but no great battle fought. Back some miles we fought a fierce battle & the ground was covered for acres with rebel & union dead. Last ev[enin]g we had a smart fight on our right in which we punished [General Richard S.] Ewell pretty badly. Our position has changed almost daily. We are now in line half way up a hill facing the enemy at the crest. They have a very formidable position which we will not attack but will employ strategy to outmaneuver Lee. He has not much more than half as many men as we but the choice of position & all in his favor. We are more than safe in our position & could drive him at an immense sacrifice of life. The Ny river is between us mainly except the 5th Corps which faces his position half way up the hill with Lee at crest. Tomorrow we move by & about his right & towards Guiney's Sta[tion].⁵ Of course I know not but think we will have a battle tomorrow in which we will gain much & that our base of supplies will be at Guiney's Sta. on the Fbg & Rhnd R.R.⁶ No question in my mind as to ultimate result of campaign. Lee will employ strategy that will detain us & we may not get to Richmond for months. I have not been under fire much since I last wrote but Newt has certainly as his corps was shelled terribly a day or two ago. Saw him once since I last wrote. Will try to see him soon again. Not a day has past but I have seen the horrors of war on the field among the dead & wounded strewn around. It's an awful sight & I hope it will soon result in the annihilation of Lee & his army. I am to a certain extent a non combatant, although exposed to fire I do no fighting but today outside our lines I had occasion to use my pistol among a squad of rebels upon whom I ran unexpectedly. I run greater danger of capture than of being shot. I avoid danger when not called upon to expose myself in line of duty & rest assured that if any misfortune should befall either of us you shall know it if possible. Hugh will probably be perfectly safe at H[eadquarters] the whole time. We are having beautiful lovely weather thus far excepting two or three days. God grant us success. Gen.

⁵ Now called Guinea, Va.

⁶ Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad.

Grant takes it perfectly cool & *smokes his cigars*. When he whittles his stick down from him he is a "little mixed" but when he whittles towards him it is all O.K. My tent is about 200 ft. from his tonight in edge of woods & with our glasses we can see the whole of Spotsylvania about 1½ miles off. It's a little village less than Hq. I can stand musketry fire but don't like shelling & though the latter is least dangerous it is the most terrifying. A shell comes screaming through the air & you know not which way to crouch as you naturally will but a bullet does its work instantly without making a noise. If you hear a bullet you know it is past you but a shell has a terrifying sound before it reaches [you]. I've had experience with both. We will have a movement & probably a fight tomorrow. I pray for success. Oh that we may whip them & end the war. Much love to all friends.

HD. QRS. ARMY OF POTOMAC
[near Petersburg, Virginia]
Aug. 2nd, 1864

DEAR MOTHER & SISTER

Yours of the 15th ult from Deerfield & Sister's of 22nd from "Willow Bank" are at hand & a letter from me is fully due. We have had a very bitter disappointment of our hopes within the last few days. Our Army has apparently been inactive for some weeks but we were preparing to do & all went well until the last move which has been a failure. You have no doubt learned ere this that the attempt to carry the enemy's works in front of Petersburg was a failure & resulted badly. On the night of the 27th ult. the 2nd Corps & cavalry moved to our right & across the Ja[me]s Riv. making all the display they could by building fires &c. They made a demonstration on the en[em]y's flank there & a feint of an advance twds. R[i]ch[mon]d. The trick took & the next day long trains of empty wagons were sent in that direction in full view of the enemy to give them the idea we were moving in that direction. Very little firing was kept up along our center & left. I read the signals of the enemy reporting our movements & the enemy on the 28th & 29th hastened all their available force to confront our advance from our right.⁷ This left a small force in our front. The Cav[a]l[r]y & 2nd Corps in mean time came back secretly under cover of night & all our available force was brought in front of P[e]t[er]sb[ur]g while the en[em]y's force was across the James where they could do us no harm. Never did plans work so well & all the dispositions of forces were good. All was well arranged & soon after daylight [on July 30] the mine we had made under the enemy's works in

⁷ "The same code of signals was in use in both armies, having been devised by a West Point graduate before the war." Adam Badeau, *Military History of U. S. Grant* (N.Y., 1881), II, 222 n.

front of 9th Corps was exploded. It made a dull heavy report & made the ground tremble slightly as it heaved up the earth & demolished the work of the en[em]y, under which it was built. A cloud of smoke & dust went up into the air a hundred & fifty ft. & hundreds of men who were sleeping woke up in Eternity. It demolished parts of two S.C. Rgts. & destroyed four guns.⁸ Immediately all our guns opened on the en[em]y's line & such a bombardment I never heard. This was kept up until our troops charged the line & held it at this point but the en[em]y had got over the fright & demoralization occasioned by the explosion & did not leave their works. Our men held the first line & the en[em]y the second very close to the first & completely surprised our men by their presence when they charged over the second line. The order was given to charge over the second line & carry a work on the crest of the hill.

This done—Petersburg would have been ours, but when our men went over the second line a strong force of the en[em]y rose & poured into them & our men fell back in disorder under an enfilading fire from the en[em]y's batt[er]y. On the result of this move laid the fate of the day & never did a battle open so auspiciously. The en[em]y had but little force, were demoralized by the assault & explosion of the mine & reinforcements were very far off from them. The result was we lost the day either through the bad conduct of our troops or improper management of our officers or perhaps for both these reasons. Our entire army feel disheartened at the result & cannot imagine what will be done next. I hear today we are again mining. Glad to hear we have some resort for "it will never do to give it up so." I have every confidence in Gen. Grant & admire him very much. I have not seen Newt for three or four weeks & have not been able to get to his part of the line. In my last I believe I told you I expected to be assigned to duty at 5th or 6th Corps H. Qrs.⁹ I am nicely located this pleasant weather in a cool shade on an elevated piece of ground overlooking Petersbg. & have a station of observation in a high tree (60 ft) from which with my splendid glasses I am enabled to see a large extent of country & the en[em]y's position. I am daily reading the en[em]y's signals & get much good information.¹⁰

... I have been quite unwell for a week past with a slight attack of yellow jaundice but am entirely recovered. If you are asked you may say that it is my humble opinion that we came here to whip Robert Lee, take Petersburg & thereby compel the fall of R[i]ch[mon]d & it will be done before the frosts come.

⁸ The 18th and 22nd South Carolina regiments suffered heavy casualties in the explosion.

⁹ From October to December, 1864, Davis was assigned to the staff of Gen. G. K. Warren's V Army Corps.

¹⁰ See note 7.

We have conflicting rumors about the en[em]y in Penna. I hope they will arouse the North to more activity.

MEMORANDA OF A JOURNEY WITH HEADQUARTERS,
ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, FROM BURKEVILLE,
VIRGINIA, TO WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 2
TO 12, 1865. C.L.D.

May 2nd 1865. Fine day. Hd. Qrs. left [Burkeville] today at 8 a.m. in cars for City P[oin]t going through P[e]t[ers]b[ur]g & arriving at City Pt. at 2 p.m. Sent Benson with H. Qrs. train & Reserve Party with Capron. Arriving at City Pt., Hd. Qrs. on the *Monohansett*. Gen. Meade in good humor. Took dinner at the Maltby House. Ashore strolling about until dark. Eve[n]ing on boat. Slept on cushion in Stateroom. Retired at 10. Fine n[igh]t.

May 3rd. Arose at 5½. Splendid day. Our boat left City Pt. at 6 a.m. Had a pleasant & interesting trip up the James to Richmond. Boat stopped at Drewry's Bluff & we went ashore & saw the rebel works there. Arrived in Richmond at 10 a.m. Gen. Meade & staff rode up to Gen. Halleck's & then scattered. Called at Paine's office. Rode around city looking at buildings. Visited Libby Prison & Church Hill. Dinner on board our boat. Gen. Meade still with Gen. Halleck. Evg. on Church Hill & aboard boat. Letter from Sister. Slept as last night. Retired at 10. Fine nt.

May 4th. Arose at 7½. Rained last night. Clear today. Train got up to Manchester. 2nd & 5th Corps also there. Went on top of Capitol. Splendid view. Called at Paine's & rode to his camp & thence to Tredegar Iron Works with Parker & thence to our camp near Manchester. Benson felt bad about my having ordered him with train. Matter amicably arranged with him. Evg. in camp south of Manchester. Letter from Hugh. Wrote to Sister. Retired at 10. Gen. [A. S.] Webb & Meade in the city. Fine night. We are ordered to move tomorrow in grand procession through Richmond.

May 5th. Arose at 5. Rained during the night & still continues. The army got in motion but the order for march was revoked on acct. of storm. Rode into town & at Hd. Qrs. & with Paine in morning. The postponement of the move is judicious as the troops are straggling very much. Our camp located. Rode to the Hollywood Cemetery with . . . & saw the graves of President Monroe . . . & others.¹¹ The cemetery is a beautiful [spot]. Cleared up beautifully. Our Hd. Qrs. nearer Manchester than last night. Rode in town & went to Theatre with Benson. Play-

¹¹ James Monroe died in New York City on July 4, 1831, but in 1858 his body was removed to Richmond, Va.

ing quite ordinary. Sherman said to be at Blacks & Whites on Danville R.R. Returned to camp & retired at 12. Fine night.

May 6th. Arose at 5½. Woke by "reveille" sounded in H. Qrs. camp. Splendid a.m. At 9 a.m. the A[rmy] of P[otomac] moved across river & through the city of Rich[mon]d in following order. Provost Marshall command, Engineer brigade, 5th Corps, 2nd Corps. The Army of [the] James formed in street to receive us. Passed . . . Libby Prison & thence to river & along Main to capitol & Franklin Sts. passing Gen. Lee's house & thence out towards Hanover C[ourt] H[ouse]. Hd. Qrs. at H[anover] C. H. Troops some distance in rear. Ev. in quarters. Retired at 10. Sleepy & tired. Fine night.

May 7th. Arose at 6. Splendid day. Hd. Qrs. moved on & camped a mile north of Reedy Swamp. Crossing the Pamunkey at Little Page's bridge.¹² 5th Corps to cross & camp near the Pamunkey. 2nd Corps some distance back. Bridge being put across the Mattaponi. Hd. Qrs. halted & camped at White Chimney. Retired at 10. Fine night.

May 8th. Arose at 5. Rained at reveille but cleared up. Marched 25 miles crossing the Mattaponi at Milford, passing Penola Sta[tion] on the Fbg & Rchd R. R., & through Bowling Green & camped at Villboro two miles east of Guinea Sta. Splendid country. Ev. in qrs. Retired at 9. Fine night.

May 9th. Arose at 4. Weather very variable, rather rainy. Marched to F[redericks]b[ur]g & stayed about the town until noon. Gen. Webb sent to Washin[gton]. Marched on & camped at Stafford C. H. Early ev. in qts. Retired at 10. A mail tonight.

May 10. Arose at 4. Cloudy & rainy all day. Hd. Qrs. got in advance of everything & camped three miles south of Wolf Run Shoals. Passed through Dumfries & halted there for some hours. Went into camp at 5 p.m.

May 11. Arose at 5. Fine day. Moved on passing through Fairfax Sta. & C[ourt] H[ouse] at noon. Reached the west end of Long Bridge about 3 p.m. & camped on the large flats. Rained hard in eveng. Opened com[munication] with sta[tion] on Winders building. Letters from Hugh, Anna H., Anna B. & Sister. A fearful storm. Tent blown down & Benson put it up in his shirttail, getting thoroughly wet. Retired at 10.

May 12. Arose at 7. Clear & windy. Moved camp to new camp. Casey opened com. with Winders building.

¹² Spelled "Littlepage's Bridge."

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CIVIL WAR ARTICLES, 1960-1961

THIS BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LISTING of Civil War Articles in current periodicals is the fourth in a regularly planned series. Designed to keep our readers informed of all scholarly contributions in other journals, the running bibliography appears in each June and December issue of *Civil War History*.

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THE CONTINUING WAR

by James I. Robertson, Jr.

IN 1934, after nineteen years of almost constant labor, Douglas Southall Freeman reluctantly completed a long association with a beloved subject. His original intent to write a one-volume life of Robert E. Lee had long since given way to what was even then regarded as a monumental project. And when the four-volume *R. E. Lee* appeared, many historians immediately labeled it the grandest piece of biographical writing in American literature. That it received the Pulitzer Prize for Biography seemed to substantiate this praise. Certainly it is the definitive life of Lee, and may ever remain so.

To tamper with Freeman's *Lee*, if not outright sacrilege, would at least seem to be detrimental to "the Doctor's" superb writing style. Yet Richard Harwell has achieved the impossible. Not only has he abridged the four-volume study of Lee into one thick volume, but he has done it with finesse and an adroitness that only enhances Freeman's genius for reporting history. Scribner's has just published Mr. Harwell's *Lee*, and it is a work that should grace every Civil War student's shelf. The footnotes are absent, as is much of Dr. Freeman's pro-Virginia prejudice. In their stead are an illuminating introduction on the life and characteristics of Dr. Freeman and the uninhibited, smooth-flowing text of "Freeman's life of Lee." Scribner's has belted a hit, not only by producing a very attractive volume, but by enlisting a gifted editor to condense the writings of an outstanding historian. The result may become a standard work in the mammoth field of Civil War history.

A second major publishing work on Lee is *The Wartime Papers of R. E. Lee*, edited by Clifford Dowdey and Louis H. Manarin. This is no hastily thrown-together compilation. The coeditors amassed over 6,000 of Lee's official and family letters and then selected 1,006 for publication. Those already published were checked carefully against the originals. The discrepancies in many cases were flagrant, especially in those works purporting to be "the life and letters" of Marse Robert. Now, for the first time, Lee vividly emerges through his correspondence—displaying "guarded control" as an army commander and "casual candor" as a husband and father. This anthology is the second publication of the Virginia

Civil War Commission. It is a work no researcher or reader of Confederate history will want to be without.

For those readers who have inquired about our next "special" issue, we are happy to announce that it will be devoted to Civil War prisons and will appear as the June, 1962, number. Dr. William B. Hesseltine will be guest editor for that issue. To be included are articles on Andersonville, Rock Island, Libby, Johnson's Island, Fort Jefferson (Dry Tortugas), Elmira, Fort Warren, and smaller compounds in Alabama and Georgia. Many persons will no doubt be surprised—or reluctant—to learn that there were Andersonvilles north of the Mason-Dixon Line.

Superior Publishing Company of Seattle, Washington, has released George B. Abdill's *Civil War Railroads*. A group of photographs from that work appeared in our September railroad number (which has proven the most popular issue in the journal's history). . . . What promises to be one of Dodd, Mead's best sellers is Sir Winston Churchill's *The American Civil War*. Extracted from Volume IV of his *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, this new edition is enhanced by contemporary photographs and drawings. . . . Holt, Rinehart & Winston has just published Volume II of V. C. "Pat" Jones's *The Civil War at Sea*. This second volume tells the story of the River War.

Thomas P. Abernathy, the epitome of Jeffersonian ideals at the University of Virginia, has authored Volume IV in LSU's "History of the South" series. Entitled *The South in the New Nation*, this study covers the years from the Revolution to the beginning of the Civil War era. . . . On the political scene the University of Illinois Press has released a collection of monographs by Norman Graebner, Don E. Fehrenbacher, Robert W. Johannsen, W. E. Baringer, and Avery Craven under the title *Politics and the Crisis of 1860*. Slavery and its impact on America are the key themes. The studies contained therein were originally presented at a Gettysburg College Civil War seminar. . . . Along the same subject, *Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America*, by noted historian Dwight L. Dumond, has just been released by the University of Michigan Press. Professor Dumond long ago established himself as an authority on slavery and abolition.

Collier's Encyclopedia has put together a series of articles on the Civil War from its forthcoming new edition. Included in *The Struggle for Survival—Civil War* are biographical, chronological, military, and bibliographical treatises. Copies (fifty cents each) may be obtained from Crowell-Collier, 640 Fifth Avenue, New York 19. . . . To its "Chicago History of American Civilization" series the University of Chicago Press has recently added John Hope Franklin's *Reconstruction after the Civil War*. . . . E. B. "Pete" Long has edited a new edition of James Ford Rhodes's *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*. Ungar is the publisher.

Indiana University's fall additions to its "Civil War Centennial Series" are Horace Porter's *Campaigning with Grant*, edited by Wayne C. Temple, and Auguste Laugel's *The United States during the Civil War*, edited by Allan Nevins. The latter is the only work of merit written by a French observer. . . . Three new monographs in the "Confederate Centennial Series" will be distributed before spring. First from the presses of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, firm will be Wilbur D. Jones's *The Confederate Rams at Birkenhead: A Chapter in Anglo-American Relations*. This will be followed by Charles Giraud's *A Visit to the Confederate States of America in 1863*, edited by William Stanley Hoole, and William C. Harris's *Leroy Pope Walker: Confederate Secretary of War*.

Philip Van Doren Stern's latest contribution is a *Civil War Christmas Album*, which Hawthorne released in October. The work treats of the yuletide, North and South, during wartime. . . . Crown has republished Lamont Buchanan's *The Confederacy* and Roy Meredith's *This Was Andersonville* in its economically priced Bonanza series. . . . An October Citadel paperback is a new edition of the Communist interpretation of the Civil War. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels of *Das Kapital* fame wrote the study shortly after the end of hostilities in America. This is interesting reading—but should be digested lightly.

True Magazine has compiled the best of its Civil War articles on the 1861-65 conflict and published them in a separate paperback volume. *Civil War Stories* is the title; Joseph Millard did the editing. . . . Elsewhere in this issue is a review of Georgetown University's role in the sectional struggle. Similar volumes are currently in preparation at Pennsylvania and Brown Universities. The first such roster of alumni in the war was issued by Dartmouth College around 1909.

From International Publishers come two new titles for the winter season. One is *The American Civil War*, a short summary in paperback by Herbert Aptheker. The other is a new edition of W. E. B. DuBois's *John Brown*, which recounts Old Osawatimie's life in autobiographical form. . . . As if in answer to this column's query in September, Harcourt, Brace has published *The Edge of Glory: A Biography of General William S. Rosecrans, U.S.A.* William M. Lamers is the author. . . . LSU has tentatively slated for March publication the long-awaited biography of Bishop-General Leonidas Polk by Joseph H. Parks (whose study of E. Kirby Smith is still available from the same publisher).

Naylor has just published a study of the Younger Brothers, who prepped for their Western escapades by serving as guerillas for the Confederacy. Carl Breihan, who wrote the most recent biography of William C. Quantrill, is the author of this new study. . . . The University of Tennessee Press has issued a biography of Samuel Roberts, the Welsh preacher and reformer who achieved a high reputation in Tennessee

during the war. Wilbur S. Shepperson penned the study. . . . Another biography of Wendell Phillips is forthcoming. This one, subtitled *Brahmin Radical* and written by Irving G. Bartlett, will be released next month by Beacon Press.

In September Bobbs-Merrill added to the already imposing list of John Hunt Morgan material a new volume, *Morgan's Raid*. The author is Allan Keller, who did an earlier study of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. . . . For you fans of George Custer, Citadel Press has republished—in both cloth and paperback—*My Life on the Plains*. The late Milo M. Quaife did the editing. . . . Now available in paperback editions are Earl Schenck Miers's *Robert E. Lee: A Great Life in Brief* (Vantage) and Bruce Catton's *America Goes to War* (Hill & Wang).

Prentice-Hall has released *Mirror to War: The Washington Star Reports the Civil War*. John W. Stepp and I. William Hill were coeditors for this summary of news stories from one of the war's most influential newspapers. . . . Horn & Wallace Publishers of Albuquerque have put out an unusual work entitled *Confederate Victories in the Southwest*. Taken largely from the *Official Records*, the work treats of the war in New Mexico up to the clash at Glorieta. . . . Peter A. Brannon, Alabama's affable archivist, has written and published a study of the organization of the Confederate post office at Montgomery. Copies are available from Mr. Brannon at Box 404, Montgomery Alabama.

Included among LSU's fall releases were a new edition of John P. Dyer's biography of "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler and an enlarged edition of Rembert W. Patrick's heretofore deservingly scarce *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet*. Students of political history and biography will be particularly pleased to learn of the availability of the latter, which LSU originally published in 1944. . . . William J. Kimball, an English professor at Mary Baldwin College, is well advanced on a documented history of Richmond during the war. Such a study, heavy in social history, would be a welcome addition to the field. . . . *A Civil War Cook Book*, by Myrtle Ellison Smith of Lincoln Memorial University, has met with good reception to date. Included in the work are recipes plus—as an added feature—a discourse on Lincoln's eating habits.

Jack D. Rittenhouse has compiled a very interesting *New Mexico Civil War Bibliography*, which is available in limited edition from the Stagecoach Press (Box 19281, Houston 24, Texas). The checklist includes some thirty-two items relative to the war in the Southwest; the fact that the listing is a descriptive one makes this work an important item for collectors and researchers. . . . Also along bibliographical lines, the Louisiana Civil War Centennial Commission has issued a sixteen-page descriptive bibliography of the Pelican State in the conflict.

Copies are available from the Commission at Box 4095, State Capitol, Baton Rouge.

One of the most attractive, comprehensive and well-illustrated regimental studies to appear in the Centennial is *Column South*, compiled by Suzanne Colton Wilson. It is the story of two young troopers in the 15th Pennsylvania Cavalry, and the narrative is based largely on their wartime diaries. Over sixty-five illustrations enhance the worth of this large book, which is published by J. F. Colton & Company, Flagstaff, Arizona. Let us hope that this firm will contribute more volumes of such quality to the field of Civil War history. . . . Little Rock's Pioneer Press announces the publication of *With Honor Untarnished*, a history of the 1st Arkansas by John C. Hammock. This was one of the few Razorback units to see service in the Eastern theater.

Two editions of the same, once-scarce Confederate narrative are now available. Shortly after publication by Charles Sanders of a limited edition of Theophilus Noel's *A Campaign from Santa Fe to the Mississippi* (see Book Notes), Stagecoach Press announced its edition of the same work. The latter is documented by Martin H. Hall and Edwin Davis and set in new type. The two editions should not conflict with each other, since the Sanders book is a qualitative facsimile and the Stagecoach volume will be an annotated, new edition. Incidentally, some four different firms all began work on republishing this particular work at the same time. That should attest to its value!

The 1st Wisconsin Cavalry must have been quite a unit. Dr. Donald E. Dille of Litchfield, Minnesota, is also doing research on its history—in addition to the person listed in a previous column. . . . The Franklinville Store, Inc., of Franklinville, North Carolina, has reissued a 37-page pamphlet, *North Carolina Soldiers in the Civil War*, by Walter Clark, the eminent Tarheel judge who compiled the five-volume *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War*. The pamphlet sells for fifty cents per copy. . . . Frederick D. Williams of Michigan State is editing the wartime diary and letters of James A. Garfield. Publication will be in the near future.

D. C. Heath has released a valuable addition to its "Selected Source Materials for College Research Papers." *Sherman in Georgia* contains excerpts from fifteen personal narratives, both Confederate and Federal, as well as a comprehensive bibliography for further research. The paperback was compiled by three academicians at Kent State University. The field needs more guides of this type, and Heath deserves commendation for paving the way to that goal. . . . One of the better personal narratives to appear in recent months is, unfortunately, not available for purchase. This is *A Staff Officer's Story*, the memoirs of Colonel

Horace N. Fisher which were edited by his son, Horace C. Fisher. The Colonel served on the staffs of "Bull" Nelson, Alexander McCook, Rosecrans, and Thomas; he participated in the Western campaigns from Shiloh to Chattanooga; and he left six manuscripts treating of his military experiences. These documents his son used as a basis for this 130-page volume, which is well organized and illustrated. The book was printed in limited quantity for private distribution, and most of the copies are gone. Perhaps in the future some commercial publisher will investigate the possibility of a printing in volume.

Walton Folk of the Continental Book Company, Kennesaw, Georgia, has announced the republication of four Confederate classics: G. W. Nichols, *A Soldier's Story of His Regiment*; Edwin H. Rennold's *A History of the Henry County Commands Which Served in the Confederate States Army*; Victor M. Rose's *Ross's Texas Brigade*; and T. C. DeLeon's *Joseph Wheeler: The Man, the Statesman, the Soldier*. Mr. Walton sells by direct mail only.

More new titles have appeared in the field of Lincolniana. A new Philadelphia firm, Rolley & Reynolds, has reissued A. K. McClure's *Lincoln and Men of War-Times*, which originally appeared in 1892. McClure's study is valuable for the recorded conversations he had with Lincoln about politics and people of the Civil War period. Earl Miers is the editor of the new edition. . . . Last month the University of Illinois Press released *Lincoln as a Lawyer*, by John P. Frank. . . . *Conversations with Lincoln* is a recent Putnam's release. Charles P. Segal authored the work, and David Donald added an introduction. . . . Scheduled for spring publication by Stanford University is Don E. Fehrenbacher's *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850's*. . . . And to its paperback series the Washington Square Press has added *Three Distinguished Plays about Abraham Lincoln*. The three dramas in question are by Mark Van Doren, John Drinkwater, and E. P. Conkle. Students of Lincoln will be able to guess the titles immediately.

In the world of make-believe, Bobbs-Merrill has published Hamilton Cochran's *The Dram Tree*. The theme of this work revolves around blockade-running, a novelist's oasis. . . . Nelson and Shirley Wolford, a noted team of fiction writers, have combined talents for a new work on the Civil War in the West. *The Southern Blade* is the title.

For those readers looking for Christmas gifts for the young buffs in the household, the following is a partial listing of new children's books on the Civil War: Helen Kay, *Abe Lincoln's Hobby* (Reilly & Lee); Adele G. Nathan, *Lincoln's America* (Grossett); Bruce Catton, *Banners at Shenandoah* (Doubleday); *The Golden Book of the Civil War* (Golden Press); Margaret L. Coit, *The Fight for the Union* (Houghton Mifflin); Marie Mudra, *David Farragut: Sea Fighter* (Messner); Irv-

ing Werstein, *The Many Faces of the Civil War* (Messner); Felix Sutton, *The Valiant Virginian: Stonewall Jackson* (Messner); John Brick, *Yankees on the Run* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce); Constance B. Burnett, *Captain John Ericsson* (Vanguard); Gordon D. Shirreffs, *Powder Boy of the Monitor* (Westminster); Don Sobol, *A Civil War Sampler* (Franklin Watts); Winfred E. Wise, *Lincoln's Secret Weapons* (Chilton-Dial); and Gordon D. Shirreffs, *The Gray Sea Raiders* (Chilton).

NOTES AND QUERIES

Edited by Boyd B. Stutler

517 Main Street

Charleston, West Virginia

THIS DEPARTMENT is designed as an open forum for researchers into Civil War themes and for readers of *Civil War History* in general. It is open for questions on, and discussions of, phases of the Great Conflict and its personnel. Also, we welcome notes on newly discovered, little known, or other sidelights of the war. Contributions are invited; address Notes and Queries Editor, 517 Main Street, Charleston, West Virginia.

QUERIES

No. 80—Propaganda Letter Attributed to Lincoln:

A letter said to have been written and signed by President Lincoln circulated widely among the reform press (especially the Populist) during the latter part of the last century. This letter, apparently rejected, does not appear in the standard collection of Lincoln's works, Roy P. Basler's *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, and therefore suggests that it either is a forgery or has been suppressed. The version given here appeared in *The National Economist Almanac* (Washington, 1890), in which the claim was made that it was written by Lincoln in answer to a letter from a friend in Illinois:

Yes, we can all congratulate ourselves that this cruel war is drawing to a close. It has cost a vast amount of treasury and blood. The best blood of the flower of American youth has been freely offered upon our country's altar that the nation might live. It has indeed been a trying hour for the republic, but I see in the near future a crisis arising which unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its range by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the republic is destroyed. I feel at this time more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of the war. God grant that my fears will prove groundless.

Query: Can anyone tell something about this letter: its origin, if spuri-

ous, and, if known, its first appearance as a political propaganda piece?

Stephen E. Ambrose

No. 81—Record of Hugh M. Beckwith, Texas Secessionist:

I am trying to trace the career of one Hugh M. (N.) Beckwith, Texas secessionist, whom the army made a special attempt to capture at El Paso and Mesilla in the late summer of 1862. Beckwith was charged specifically with conspiring against the United States; at some time between 1862 and 1864 he was indicted for treason. In letters that passed between Colonel Joseph R. West, commanding at Mesilla, and Major William McMullen, there is a suggestion that Beckwith had been captured but had escaped.

Query: Does any one know about Beckwith, particularly the details of his charged treasonable offense?

Philip J. Rasch

No. 82—Civil War Medal, Ohio Origin:

I have a Civil War medal apparently of Ohio origin which I am not able to identify. It is slightly larger than a half dollar, made by the Tiffany Company, New York, and apparently was awarded to a soldier of the 39th Ohio Infantry. The design on the obverse is: Figure of woman, representing peace or victory, honoring a soldier, and in the background is the seal of the state of Ohio. At the bottom are the dates, "1861-1865," and at the top there is a loop for a small chain to be attached. The inscription on the reverse is: "The State of Ohio to Jas. Rockwell. Veteran, Co. A, 39th Regt Ohio Volunteer Inft," which is encircled by a wreath.

Query: Can anyone identify this medal for me, giving date and authority for issue?

Eugene M. Smalley

No. 77—Did Any Confederate Outfit Wear Kilts?

In reply to Pipe Major David Dare Brown's query (June, 1961), W. A. Goff, of Kansas City, Kansas, writes: "The Charleston, South Carolina, Militia Highland Company had a pipe band which dressed in black bonnet (not Glengarry), with red and white checked band; red jacket piped with white; cuff tabs white with three buttons; white belt; buckles and buttons silver. Sporran was white horsehair with black leather top and three silver-tipped black tassels. Black shoes, red and white socks. Plaid, kilt, pipe-bag and ribbons were of the McDonald tartan. The riflemen wore the same uniform." The above is quoted almost verbatim from Ronald McLeod's article which appeared in the October, 1959, issue of Bob Bard's *Military Miniature Collector* (Baltimore, Maryland).

Attorney John H. Forshay, of Houston, Texas, make an informative contribution. He writes:

Colonel Frederick P. Todd in his "Notes on the Organization and Uniforms of the South Carolina Military Forces, 1860-1861," in the *Journal of the Company of Military Collectors and Historians*, September, 1951, mentions the Union Light Infantry, a company of the 17th Militia Infantry Regiment, on occasion wore tartan trews. This company had pipers who may have worn kilts. The article is illustrated by a woodcut from LeBree's *Pictorial Battles of the Civil War*, which shows amid a group of Charleston militia one in full Highland regalia, including kilt, sporran and feather bonnet.

The regimental history of the 79th New York Highlanders, by William Todd, makes several references to a battalion of Charleston Highlanders which it encountered during the fighting on James Island, just outside Charleston, in May and June of 1862. It specifically mentions a captured Confederate lieutenant who, upon learning the identity of his captors, remarked, "Had I known I was to have been taken prisoner I would have worn my kilts."

The same regimental history is very specific in its statement that the 79th New York left its kilts and trews in Washington when ordered into the field just before the First Bull Run. It is also extremely doubtful that the regiment had a pipe band during its service in the field, for there are several references to the regimental band before it was disbanded in August, 1862. After that the only mention of a piper refers to an individual who joined the regiment before Vicksburg in June, 1863, complete with pipes and kilts—and the reference to his music is far from complimentary. Incidentally, the 12th Illinois Infantry was also known as the First Scotch Regiment, and the 65th Illinois as the Second Scotch Regiment, and as Highlanders.

NOTES

"The General" Will Re-enact Dramatic Railroad Chase:

A classic railroad episode and one of the most dramatic events of the Civil War was the "Great Locomotive Chase" from Big Shanty (now Kennesaw) to Ringold, Georgia, on April 12, 1862. Twenty Union raiders kidnapped a train pulled by "The General" and, closely pursued by the outraged Confederates, led a breath-taking chase through the Georgia hills. Since 1891 "The General" has had a place of honor in the Union Station at Chattanooga, Tennessee, where it was viewed by great throngs every year. Carefully shrouded in canvas and traveling under guard, the historic old engine was moved to the Louisville and Nashville Railroad shops at Louisville, Kentucky, where it was completely overhauled and again put into operating condition.

On next April 12, moving under its own power, "The General" will retrace the route it followed a century before. This time there will be special ceremonies all along the old rail route, arranged by the Georgia Civil War Centennial Commission. These rites will be a highlight in Georgia's centennial observances. After the re-enactment "The General"

will be made available for appearances in any, or all, of the thirteen states served by the L. & N. Railroad.

"The General," a 31-ton locomotive, was built in 1855 in Paterson, New Jersey. In the following year it went into service between Atlanta and Chattanooga on the road then known as the Western and Atlantic line. "The Texas," last of the three locomotives used by the pursuing Confederates in the 87-mile chase and with which the capture was effected, is on display in the Cyclorama Building in Grant Park, Atlanta.

Andersonville Panorama Unveiled at Cooperstown Museum:

A huge Civil War panorama of Andersonville Prison is currently on exhibit—the first time since completion in 1885—at the museum of the New York State Historical Association in Cooperstown. The Andersonville study is a four and one-half by nine foot pencil drawing done by Thomas O'Dea, a Civil War and Andersonville veteran.

O'Dea, an Irish immigrant, enlisted in the 16th Maine Infantry as a drummer boy at the age of fifteen. Later he became a regular private, was captured in the Wilderness and then sent to Andersonville during its worst days in 1864 (when 33,000 Union prisoners were confined within a twenty-six-acre stockade, sometimes dying at the rate of nearly 100 each day).

Released in 1865, O'Dea returned to Boston, only to find that his family had disappeared without a trace. During the next few years he wandered about as an itinerant bricklayer, but soon married and settled down in Cohoes, New York. Annoyed by inaccurate descriptions of Andersonville, he decided to provide a true picture of the place as he knew it. He began his drawing in 1879. Working nearly every night for six years, without plans or other information but recording only from memory, he completed his task in 1885. It was copied as a lithograph and 10,000 prints were distributed by G.A.R. posts, but the original drawing was packed away, never exhibited and, by O'Dea's wishes, never photographed.

Daughters of the artist living in Cohoes and Saratoga Springs loaned the drawing to the Historical Association for the exhibit, together with one of the Grand Army lithograph copies. Distribution of this print did serve to find one of his long-lost brothers at Aurora, Illinois, but the fate of the rest of the family remained unsolved when Thomas O'Dea died in 1926.

Fort Monroe's "Big Gun" Was Named for Lincoln:

For many years a huge Civil War cannon rested under a live oak on the parade ground at Fort Monroe, Virginia. Void of any marking, the name and identity of the giant had faded from memory of living men.

The cannon was just "the big gun," and children loved to clamber over it and slide down its slick sides.

A research team of the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum became curious and after some searching came up with the story. "The Big Gun," they found, was the first 15-inch gun cast by the method of Major Rodman and was taken to Fort Monroe for testing in May, 1860. It was first called the "Floyd Gun," after John B. Floyd, Secretary of War in Buchanan's Cabinet. During the war the gun stood on the beach in company with a 12-inch rifled gun known as the "Union Gun," and with which the larger one was often confused. This battery was especially placed for use against ironclad ships and was credited with deterring the *Merrimack* from attempting to run past the fort.

In 1862 Secretary of War Stanton issued a directive: "Let the gun heretofore known as the 'Floyd' be changed and hereafter be called the 'Lincoln.'" Now the name has been restored to the big gun.

Seven Years with a Soldier-Artist-Author:

After seven years of almost complete devotion to the David Hunter Strother-Porte Crayon theme, Dr. Cecil D. Eby, Jr., of Washington and Lee University, is changing direction. In collaboration with Dr. Paxton Davis, associate professor of journalism, Washington and Lee, a musical study of Hunter's Lynchburg campaign is under way—words by Davis, music by Eby—the manuscript to be completed by September, 1962. Yet Dr. Eby does not get far from the theme that has absorbed him so long: Strother was Hunter's chief of staff.

The seven years, however, have been productive one which include a doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1958; three books, *Old South Illustrated*, 1959 (Strother anthology); *Porte Crayon*, 1960 (biography of Strother); *Virginia Yankee in the Civil War*, 1961 (Strother's Civil War diaries)—all published by University of North Carolina Press. Then there are a round dozen of Strother articles in scholarly publications ("With Sigel at New Market," *Civil War History*, March, 1960) and uncounted appearances before societies, clubs, and whatnot.

Gettysburg Revisited by a Canadian Historian:

[Contributed by Fred Landon, Former Chairman of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada]

My first visit to the Gettysburg battlefield, made more than fifty years ago, pre-dated the wide popular use of the automobile and the wide, paved highways which today serve to bring visitors to the field from states far remote from the scene of the Pennsylvania conflict. As a visitor from Canada, I went first to Harrisburg and thence by a slow local train over the Western Maryland Railroad to my destination.

Gettysburg in 1910 was but little changed since the November day of

1863 when Abraham Lincoln came to dedicate the National Cemetery. He came by special train from Washington and the old railroad station where he left his private car still serves the few travelers who come by rail. There was but little hotel accommodation in 1910 and the town still showed plainly some marks of the damage it had received during the battle forty-seven years before.

I spent three days walking over the field—too little time I realized to see it properly, but what I did see was viewed leisurely and rather intimately so that when twice revisited in recent years it all seemed familiar ground.

On the first day of my visit I went out the Chambersburg Road to see where the battle began and then walked the length of Seminary Ridge to where the site of Reilly's Battery marked the extreme right of the Southern line. On the second day I walked the length of the Northern line from the town limits to the Round Tops. The third day was occupied with a visit to the area northwest of the town and to walking across the valley traversed by Pickett's men on the third day of battle. Everywhere were monuments—regimental, state, national—which had been erected in the years since 1878 when the Grand Army of the Republic of Pennsylvania had encamped on East Cemetery Hill and the Erie (Pennsylvania) Post had placed upon Little Round Top a tablet to mark the spot where General Strong Vincent was killed. On later visits one found the beautiful Virginia and Alabama state monuments adding to the interest of Cemetery Ridge. There were almost as many monuments on the field in 1910 as there are today.

W. H. Tipton, the official photographer of the battlefield, was the most interesting person whom I met in Gettysburg. He had a store on the main street where photographs and souvenirs of all kinds were available, many of a character that could not be had today. One evening while in his store I saw a small boy offer him something for sale which he declined, but suggested to the boy that I might be a customer. The boy had a handful of bullets picked up on the field and I paid him a quarter for them.

Mr. Tipton had trays full of them on his counter. He told me that he was in town during the battle and that his father had been called out for state service and so was absent. On the morning of July 1 young Tipton and other lads had followed Buford's Northern cavalry out the Chambersburg Road and suddenly found themselves in the midst of actual fighting. By the time they arrived at their homes the noise of battle off to the west was loud and continuous.

Tipton's mother took her children into the cellar. During the next few hours fighting took place in the yards and streets. I asked Mr. Tipton if any incident of the battle stayed in his mind. He recalled the fighting in the family backyard and of hearing a voice shout: "Get that fellow

going over the fence!" Not until the end of the third day were the mother and children able to leave their cellar refuge.

Professor J. G. Randall, biographer of Lincoln, wrote me some years ago that he received from Mr. Tipton in an interview a young boy's remembrance of the Gettysburg address, which he had heard delivered. That was a matter that I had not thought of when I talked with him.

Out on the Northern line where an old farmhouse still stood, a sign offered cider and buttermilk. The elderly woman who answered a knock on the door told me that this was her girlhood home. She had been away some days before the battle but recalled that when the family returned the house was in a badly disturbed condition. The bed clothing had evidently been used for wounded men. After nearly fifty years she was still worried about the disordered house, and she added that when her mother brought the family back they found a dead man in the cellar.

I spent an interesting hour with an official at the National Cemetery offices. He told me that in the process of constructing new roads and walks about the battlefield, occasional finds of bones, weapons, and soldiers' possessions were made. The last-named were carefully recorded and placed in individual cardboard boxes for possible identification later by visiting relatives and friends. Occasionally sufficient information was thus secured to serve to identify readily one of the hundreds of "unknown" dead in the cemetery. Half a century later I again visited the offices but could see none of the boxes and was informed by the person in charge that he had never heard of their use. There had been scores of these boxes in 1910; they were apparently a thing of the past and quite forgotten in the fifties.

In 1910 there stood in a fenced field on the north side of the Chambersburg Road an old stone house, empty and bare save for a rough sign, "Lee's Headquarters." On later visits the empty field was the site of an excellent hotel and a group of cabins and the old stone house had become a museum crammed with relics of the battle. It was no longer designated as Lee's headquarters, because across the highway a monument recorded that Lee's tent had been pitched there during the battle. It was less than 100 feet from Seminary Ridge, where from end to end of the line guns indicated where Southern batteries had been located at the time of the battle. It was interesting to note in the tablet inscriptions how many of these batteries had been inactive during the third day. Today we know that exhaustion of the ammunition reserved by fighting during the first two days was one of the causes of this inaction.

One of the most striking additions made to the battlefield site in recent years is the beautiful Lutheran Church of the Abiding Presence. With its classic front and noble spire, it stands adjacent to the Gettysburg Theological Seminary—from whose tower Lee looked out on the first day toward the town less than a mile away. Another new feature on

the battlefield is the shrine to the northwest of the town with its constant flame burning in memory of the men who fought and died here.

Gettysburg today is not the sleepy old town that it was when I first visited it in 1910. It is much easier today than in the past to arrive at the place, just as it is easier to make the tour of its several parts. The very name of the town has been made more familiar by the presence in its immediate vicinity of a President's rural home. During the next three years of the centenary of the Civil War, probably no other single battlefield of the war will attract a greater number of visitors than will Gettysburg. Certainly no where else can a visitor gain a clearer view of how a great battle was fought. Every monument has a story to tell of some regiment's part in the fighting or of some separate incident.

The visitor who enters the tiny stone cottage which served as Meade's headquarters, or who halts at the stone wall near the little grove of trees that was Pickett's objective, or who sees the remains of the rude fortifications on Round Top or on Culp's Hill, will have a better understanding of what war means than many pages of print could ever provide.

One of a Half-Million:

[Contributed by LeRoy H. Fischer, Oklahoma State University]

The "we regret to inform you. . ." notice had arrived, but the details were lacking. So S. B. Howard of West Springfield, Massachusetts, requested the complete story of the death and burial of his twenty-one-year-old son, Solomon, killed in the skirmish at Chalk Bluff, Arkansas in May, 1862. This information could be furnished only by another soldier on the spot; and, as was the custom, the account upon request was supplied by the nearest commanding officer, the lieutenant in charge of the company, George W. Frederick.

The family must know. What were the circumstances? Did he suffer or was death instant? Were others killed in the same action? Where was he buried and under what circumstances? Was it worth dying young? These and similar questions must be answered, a task that Lieutenant Frederick anticipated with considerable anxiety. As the recently appointed commanding officer of the company, he has never before been requested to write such a letter.

The Union cavalry operation climaxing at Chalk Bluff and involving 300 men of the 1st Wisconsin, Frederick explained, had moved in easy stages and without incident over a period of two full weeks from St. Louis to Cape Girardeau, on to Bloomfield, Missouri, and then hastily after an all-night ride to the village of Four Mile. Immediately Solomon's unit pressed on to the St. Francis River, four miles distant, to the point of a ferry across the river from a height in Arkansas called Chalk Bluff.

The Confederates in control of the ferry boat fled when their pickets were fired upon. Without delay the Federals dismounted, tied their

horses, and boarded the boat to cross to the Arkansas shore. For some sixty to seventy-five miles, explained Frederick, Confederates had been spotted but had not offered resistance, and it was judged that this condition would probably continue. So the lieutenant and a squad of fifteen spirited men leisurely made their way through the hills for a distance of some three miles. Suddenly six or eight Confederate cavalymen sallied from the woods into the road ahead, fired point blank, then darted back into the timber. Unhurt, Frederick's men, although unmounted, scrambled after them, only to run headlong into scathing fire from Confederates hidden behind trees and logs. "We of course opened our uneering [*sic*] fire upon them," the lieutenant rhapsodized, "which laid them out right and left. All our men fought like tigers. None showed the white feather, and Poor Solomon must have laid low at least 2 rebel thieves." At the first of the skirmish Solomon was seen "taking good aim and firing [*sic*] rapidly, but was lost sight of by his comrades and no one was with him when he fell."

Death was instant. "There was one ball hole in his neck and two in his breast—either would have been fatal." Someone had robbed Solomon of his watch and money, and had emptied the contents of his pockets on his chest before his fellows could get to him.

The body was carried to the village of Four Mile for burial. The trek back was difficult: several miles on foot to the ferry, where the horses awaited the return to the village. "Nearly every man was asleep in his saddle, and not a few fell off." Also, during the sixty-mile foray, no food was available for the famished men. The excessive heat added to the fatigue, while the dead and wounded, including Lieutenant Fernando C. Merrill (suffering from four hits), worsened the return.

Preparations for Solomon's committal were simple; they had to be. "He was washed and buried the best the circumstances would admit." With no nails and boards available to construct a coffin, interment was "in his clothes and blanket. . . . A board sits to the head and foot of his . . . grave, and he is buried nearly in front of Squire Hodges house." Another private, killed in the same action, was laid to rest beside Solomon, and the lieutenant ordered a fence to be constructed around the graves.

"It would be very pleasant to have his body at home," Solomon's father was told, "so you could plant a flower on the *dear boys grave*. But I judge it very near impossible as it is so far from home, the season is so very hot, and the roads are so very rough and bad from Four Mile to Cape Girardeau." Perhaps Mr. Howard would some day make the trip to Four Mile. He should call on Squire Hodge to point out the grave.

"*Your true brave boy*" died, the bereaved father was assured, "while defending his noble countrys flag, and his regiments, and companys, and his own honor. No truer or braver man ever fell in a better cause. . . ."

Lieutenant Frederick, a shoemaker by trade, had supplied the details. He himself met his end at nearby West Prairie, Missouri, in less than a month, the victim of disease, and another link in the ceaseless chain of death in the fighting forces of the Civil War. Once again the details for the nearest of kin were lacking. If they were requested, and if they were supplied, the reply must have been similar in many ways to the lieutenant's account. Over a half-million such letters—North and South—supplying the details of death could have been written, more than during all other American wars.¹

¹ The letter, dated June 9, 1862, is the property of Mr. William K. Jones of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, who generously consented to its use. The military personnel records of Lt. George W. Frederick and Pvt. Solomon H. Howard, both of Company D, 1st Wisconsin Cavalry, are in the Adjutant General's Office, State of Wisconsin, and the National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. The Union and Confederate armies did not send official "we regret to inform you. . . ." notices, but the nearest commanding officer or close personal friend of the victim performed this as a service. Reports relating to the skirmish of Chalk Bluff, Arkansas, May 15, 1862, are in U.S. War Dept. (comp.) *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, XIII, 65-66. Condensed death statistics concerning all American wars are available in Bell I. Wiley, *Why Georgia Should Commemorate the Civil War* (Atlanta, n.d.), p. 23. During the Civil War, 618,152 American servicemen died; in all other American wars combined (from the Revolution through the Korean conflict), 606,367 American servicemen lost their lives.

CORRECTION—

In our September railroad issue, one of the picture captions contained an error which we hasten to correct. The fifth photograph in George B. Abdill's "A Gallery of Civil War Railroads" showed Lincoln's funeral car hooked to the locomotive "W. H. Whiton." The caption stated that the "W. H. Whiton" pulled the car from Washington to Springfield. This, of course, is incorrect, since the funeral car moved over several different lines and was pulled by as many locomotives. We are indebted to Mr. Abdill for calling attention to this editorial slip on our part.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Stakes of Power, 1845-1877. By Roy F. Nichols. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961. Pp. x, 246. \$4.50.)

THIS VOLUME IS THE FOURTH in "The Making of America" series. Emphasis in this series is upon interpretation, synthesis, and summation.

Ninety pages—considerably more than a third of the small volume—are devoted to the prewar years, and here Nichols is at his best. Author of such books as *The Democratic Machine, 1850-1854* (1923), *Franklin Pierce* (1931), and *Disruption of American Democracy* (1948), Nichols knows both the history and the historical literature of this era thoroughly. He sees the prewar period as a struggle for political and economic power—a contest which broke down the democratic processes.

That struggle for political power turned into a military conflict—summarized in cursory fashion in but fifty-seven pages. Lincoln emerges as a master politician, winner of the struggle for power within the Republican party and a pivotal figure in "the evolution of a new structure of power, both military and political . . ." Civil War cultists will be piqued at what is left out; it is difficult to quarrel with the contentions and facts included.

The struggle-for-power theme is carried into the postwar years with "new business operators," the "new" Republican party, reform movements, and postwar Democrats being enemies or allies.

Some critics will complain that Nichols rides his struggle-for-power thesis too hard. It, however, serves as a cement to bind the three eras together and to give unity to the 1845-77 period. The ideas and idealism of those years are practically sidetracked as realism, political and economic, reigns supreme. Errors of fact are few and far between, and the author's contentions are sound. This is history at its best. The literary style is "seasoned" with scholarship; those who feed upon the menu served by Catton or Nevins may protest at the harder fare. The bibliographical suggestions, confined to ten pages at the end of the text, are superb.

FRANK L. KLEMENT

Marquette University

Crucial Moments of the Civil War. By Willard Webb. (New York: Fountainhead Publishers, 1961. \$7.50.)

SELDOM HAVE I APPROACHED a book with more pleasurable anticipation than this one, and rarely have I been so bitterly disappointed. From a man of

Webb's cultural, literal, and military background one might expect something unusual, not an anthology of a few chapters, haphazardly thrown together. Some of them, like the one on Bryce's Crossroads, Streight's raid, and the 6th Wisconsin Volunteers, certainly do not depict crucial moments of the war, whereas others which do already have been threshed out to the last possible grain. Haskell's account of Gettysburg has been used in several previous anthologies, and one wishes that a moratorium be declared on it and some others, especially as they are taken from books readily available.

Webb's introductory remarks to the chapters lack spark and, what is worse, are not always correct, as when he calls the action of the Union army at Bull Run "a somewhat disorderly retreat," only to be contradicted by his own author a few lines later, who describes the debacle as a "gigantic rout and panic."

Samuel Schmucker, war correspondent of the *New York World* and an eyewitness to the battles at White Oak Swamp and Malvern Hill, was a bad observer, and his errors should have been pointed out in the Preface or in footnotes. The actual battle of Malvern Hill certainly bears no resemblance to Schmucker's description. The same author, writing an account of Shiloh, remains uncorrected when he gives the Confederate strength at 70,000 instead of 40,000, and mixes up General Wallace with General Prentiss. Webb introduces the story of Second Bull Run with these words: "After Lee defeated McClellan on the Peninsula. . . ." One may take issue with this statement on both orthographic and historical grounds. And Longstreet did not let go with his guns when the Federal attack began to weaken, but while Porter was sending his regulars into the day's fiercest attack on Jackson's stronghold, and when the battle still was undecided.

I always thought that after the battle of Antietam Lee remained one day on the battlefield, but Webb says, and repeats, that he remained two days. One of us evidently must be wrong.

A great fault of the book is the absence of maps. I doubt if even a well-posted student of the war will be able to follow chapters like the "Battle of Fredericksburg" without one, the more so as the author goes into minute details (most of which are unnecessary and confusing). By the way, in this battle the attack on Marye's Hill, its most dramatic feature, is allotted only a few lines, thus giving a blurred picture of the happenings. To select General Early for this chapter was a fundamental mistake, since he fought only on the right wing and knew little of what was going on elsewhere.

Webb states that at Chancellorsville it was "enemy resistance and terrain" which slowed down Hooker and made him choose the Chancellorsville mansion as his headquarters. Hooker himself later ascribed his strange behavior to the fact that he had suddenly lost confidence in himself. The enemy's resistance was not too strong, and the terrain problem pointed the other way.

For the chapter on Vicksburg, Webb again selected Schmucker, whose story this time covered almost the whole country. Evidently he wrote largely from inaccurate hear-say.

Not all the illustrations in the volume are illuminating. The battle of Shiloh,

for example, is represented by four cannoneers standing next to two guns. They might have stood that way anywhere. Other pictures, however, are good, although their origin should have been stated.

Webb has skimmed off a few cream stories of the war, some crucial, some not, and has bound them into a volume. To a beginner this conglomeration may have appeal, but a sophisticated reader will hope that a man of Webb's standing and talents will next time turn out something more original and more in line with his abilities.

OTTO EISENSCHIML

Chicago, Illinois

Old Gentlemen's Convention: The Washington Peace Conference of 1861. By Robert Gray Gunderson. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961. Pp. xiii, 168. \$5.00.)

ROBERT G. GUNDERSON received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin and is now professor of speech and theatre at Indiana University. Nevertheless, his interest in history has caused him to write extensively in the field of Lincoln and the Civil War. When he publishes an article or a book, the reader can be sure that much research in original sources was made before he sharpened his pencil to write. His latest volume is no exception. All ten chapters are thoroughly documented with footnotes, and the bibliography lists only manuscript collections and contemporary newspapers. There is no doubt that he did consult some published sources—both primary and secondary—but the bulk of Dr. Gunderson's plowing has been done in virgin soil. And unlike many books being published today, *Old Gentlemen's Convention* possesses an adequate index. Professor William B. Hesseltine contributed the Foreword.

Has Professor Gunderson explored an important topic? Yes, his study will fill an obvious gap in American history. Previously, only Lucius E. Chittenden's *A Report of the Debates and Proceedings . . .* (1864) was available. Dr. Gunderson, for the first time, has examined the letters and diaries of the delegates to discover what they really struggled for in this convention and how politics, economics, and mass propaganda influenced them. In fact, only a fraction of his book refers to the actual happenings on the convention floor. Some readers may declare that they would have liked a longer treatment of this subject. But this information is available in Chittenden.

In an effort to avoid a civil war, Virginia called for a peace convention to be held in Washington, D.C., with delegates from both north and south of the Mason-Dixon Line. Representatives—132 of them from twenty-one states—came together at Willard's Hall on February 4, 1861, and remained in session until the twenty-seventh of that month. Ex-President John Tyler served as chairman, and purple prose often filled the air from all corners of the hall. In the end the convention proposed an amendment to the U.S. Constitution in regard to the real issue which was splitting the Union: slavery. In effect, this amendment would have restored the Missouri Compromise line and guaranteed the rights of the slave holders below it.

But was the peace convention actually meeting in good faith? It is true that men of good will were there and a compromise was agreed upon, but Tyler secretly and openly worked for secession, and many of the delegates from the North spoke against any and all compromise. At home, newly elected Republicans refused even to think about a peaceful settlement which involved compromise. When the proposed thirteenth amendment was submitted to Congress, abolitionists from the North and radical secessionists from the South joined bloody hands to defeat the measure. Politicians, then as now, supported their own selfish party interests. This convention, however, did serve Lincoln in one respect: it kept the peace until after his inauguration. Horace Greeley sneered that it had been an "Old Gentlemen's Convention," and the name stuck.

WAYNE C. TEMPLE

Lincoln Memorial University

Personnel of the Civil War. Edited by William Frayne Amann. (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961. 2 volumes, boxed. Pp. vii, 376, 373. \$10.00.)

IN A FIELD VITIATED by writers whose principal knowledge of the Civil War is their ability to make money at the expense of good history, it is particularly gratifying to encounter a publisher who prints not new works of questionable value, but old and time-proven classics in Civil War history.

Such a publisher is Thomas Yoseloff, whose knack for uncovering and republishing (at economical prices) the scarce, the unknown, and the highly respected books of yesteryear has placed his firm at the pinnacle of the Civil War trade. Few public or private libraries exist that do not contain Yoseloff's new editions of such standards as *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, *Dyer's Compendium*, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, *The Atlas to Accompany the Official Records*, and numerous others. This new set is the latest addition to an already imposing list of titles.

Personnel of the Civil War will not enjoy the wide distribution of other works in the Yoseloff series, yet this is not to imply that the set lacks merit. On the contrary, researchers, writers, and buffs who like to hunt down tidbits of data on units and commanders will find these volumes well to their liking. Because the work is composed entirely of lists and tables, it is a reference guide; as such, it is more to be consulted than to be attempted as pleasure reading.

Volume I is a reprint of General Marcus J. Wright's exceedingly scarce (only four copies are known to exist) *Local Designation of Confederate Troops*, together with his *Memorandum of Armies . . . and . . . General Officers*. Wright, a former brigade commander in the Army of Tennessee, was named in 1878 as agent for the collection of Confederate documents to be published in the War Department's *Official Records*. The two works cited above were probably his first memoranda for the government, and twenty-five "working copies" of each were printed. Although Wright turned out a prodigious amount of writing before his death in 1922 at the age of ninety-

two, neither of these pamphlets was published, as intended, in the *Official Records*.

Now readily available, Wright's studies contain 169 pages of alphabetized unit nicknames and titles. After each is its official designation. Hence, the familiar "Joe Brown's Pets" is shown as Company C, 2nd Georgia State Troops. Following this section are lengthy compilations on military departments and corps, plus an incomplete roster of general officers and their year-by-year commands.

The second volume treats much the same material on the Union side and is divided into two parts. The first section, a reprint of *Record of General Officers of the Armies of the United States*, contains dates of appointment to general—and in some cases the mustering-out date—of 2,570 Federal officers. Part Two, originally published in 1885, is a list of synonyms for various Northern companies and batteries. Broken down by states and then alphabetized, the compilation contains units known by a person's name (Berdan's Sharpshooters) or by a sobriquet (Graybeard Regiment). An alphabetical listing at the end of the volume of all synonyms facilitates quick identification.

Personnel of the Civil War does not have the comprehensiveness of *Dyer's Compendium*, but it treats of both Federal and Confederate units. It will be of little value to the person who knows the regimental number and wishes the nickname. No editing has been done, largely because little is needed. On the other hand, these two volumes are a needed reference tool for any researcher on unit histories or general officers. For that, laurels go once again to Thomas Yoseloff, "the historian's publisher."

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The Blue and the Gray on the Nile. By William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961. Pp. xii, 290. \$5.00.)

THIS BOOK AFFORDS an extended postscript to the Civil War by describing the adventures of some forty-two Union and Confederate veterans who served the Egyptian khedive, Ismail Pasha. Ismail was ambitious, imaginative, expansionist—a builder in the nineteenth-century tradition—but he needed help ("technical assistance" in current terminology) to make Egypt a modern power. Thaddeus Mott, a New Yorker with wide acquaintance in the Near East, persuaded Ismail to employ Civil War veterans to modernize his armed forces. Mott became Ferik Pasha (equivalent to major general) in 1869 and, with the advice of William T. Sherman, began to recruit suitable personnel. He collected an interesting bag: "a little more than half of them [22] came from the Confederate Army [and Navy], and more than half were graduates of the service schools at West Point and Annapolis." The group included two former major generals, six ex-brigadiers, four colonels, and on down to two privates. By and large they performed well; eight died in Egyptian service, at Darfur, Khartoum, and Suakin, besides Alexandria and Cairo; only one deserted.

By its nature the book is anecdotal and episodic; it treats the careers of various Americans in Egypt, their individual case histories in Union or Confederate service, their achievements, failures, campaigns, and explorations. Solid chapters deal with Ismail's grandiose plans, Egyptian society, and the problems of American adjustment to a culture widely different from their own. Five Americans stand out by reason of their distinguished and/or unusual services. Charles P. Stone, Union brigadier with professional reputation blasted by the Committee on the Conduct of the War after Ball's Bluff, became chief of staff under Ismail in 1871 and remained in Egypt until 1883. William W. Loring (Confederate major general who served through the war under a cloud because of the unfortunate Romney campaign of early 1862) was inspector general of infantry, designer of coastal defenses, and chief of staff to Ratib Pasha on the ill-fated Gura campaign of 1876. Raleigh E. Colston was a Confederate brigadier who led expeditions to explore and map the territory between the Nile and the Red Sea. Charles Chaillé Long, after several years of Cairo staff work, made his major contribution exploring the Sudan (with Chinese Gordon) to Uganda and the Juba River country. And Alexander M. Mason also explored with Colston and Gordon and made important discoveries and map corrections. Their cumulative service totaled more than forty years.

Despite their real accomplishments—establishment of schools to reduce the illiteracy of the fellahin making up the Egyptian army, creation of a general staff, engineering, exploration, surveying for railroads—the Americans were doomed to frustration and final failure. They fell victims to surging anti-foreign sentiment and, the authors explain, there "was a difference in spirit. American optimism—the spirit which infused American aggressiveness—was in sharp contrast to Egyptian acceptance of all that Allah ordained. The American officers of the khedive would never understand why they should remain idle when there were worlds to conquer, work to do, glory and honor to be won." By 1880, most of them had returned to the United States.

This book is important as an exposition of a sort of early-day, unofficial, military assistance program. The notes (twenty-five full pages) include an exhaustive bibliography, and the illustrations are helpful as well as picturesque. Occasionally repetitious, and slightly marred by a tendency to provide middle names to a fare-thee-well (Charles Pomeroy Stone, Alexander McComb Mason, Charles Iverson Graves, James Morris Morgan, etc.), the book still makes good warm-weather reading.

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BOOK NOTES

Regimental Publications & Personal Narratives of the Civil War. Volume I: Northern States; Part I: Illinois. Compiled by C. E. Dornbusch. (New York: The New York Public Library, 1961. Pp. 46. \$2.50.)

A year ago this journal announced with pleasure the forthcoming revision by Charles Dornbusch of the out-of-print and outdated *Bibliography of State Participation in the Civil War* (Washington, 1913). This is the first installment of Mr. Dornbusch's huge undertaking, and it is a bibliographical gem. Following the arrangement of the earlier edition, entries are classified numerically by artillery, cavalry, and infantry arms. Should a student or researcher wish a quick reference, for example, to extant writings on U. S. Grant's old 21st Illinois, he can turn readily to the pertinent section—where he will find seven works ranging from printed books to magazine articles. The present checklist will eventually contain eight parts: six parts encompassing the bibliography for seventeen Northern states, one part being an appendix with additional titles, and an index. Similar lists for the Confederate States will follow. Present plans call for a printing, in volume form, of all parts. This is the best new bibliography of Civil War material to appear to date; interested persons should start collecting the parts while they are still available.

Campaigns and Battles of the Sixteenth Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers. By Thomas A. Head. Introduction by Stanley F. Horn. (McMinnville, Tenn.: Womack Printing Co., 1961. Pp. 488. \$5.00.)

Thomas Head could vividly chronicle the history of the 16th Tennessee because he was a major in the regiment and served with it until his capture at Kennesaw Mountain in 1864. Originally published in 1885, the book has long been the most sought-after of Confederate regimental histories. Messrs. Womack and Horn deserve much credit for making this new edition available and at so economical a price. However, as Head's narrative is a potpourri of reminiscences, tables, musters, data on other Tennessee regiments—and, as the publisher states, often "called a history of the Western [Confederate] Army"—it would seem that the inclusion of an index would have been considered an absolute necessity to a work of such scope. Surely the serious buff would have been willing to pay the few cents extra for such a needed reference feature. On the other hand, the chapters on Corinth, Perryville, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, Franklin, etc., are candidly pictured by a learned soldier. And the use, as dust jacket and end plates, of three of the famous Gaul prints,

even though reproduced only in one color, add flavor to this classic memoir of service in the neglected Army of Tennessee.

The Peace Convention of 1861. By Jesse L. Keene. (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Confederate Publishing Company, 1961. Pp. 141. \$4.00.)

If it is unusual when two books treating of the same subject appear on the market simultaneously, it is indeed a rarity when both reflect deep research, keen analyses, and a clear, rapid style. Such is the case of this study and that of Robert Gunderson which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue. Keene's survey of the eleventh-hour attempt by a conference of elderly statesmen to avoid war evolved from his doctoral dissertation. It is thus a methodical, blow-by-blow account of the Convention, its antecedents, and the events that followed. Keene has relied on printed sources as heavily as Gunderson researched into manuscripts and newspapers. For pure writing style, Gunderson's volume is superior. At the same time, Keene presents his version concisely and crisply, with a minimum of descriptive adjectives and humorous tangents. In short, choosing between these two excellent studies is the same as deciding whether you like good ice cream plain or with topping.

Travels in the Confederate States: A Bibliography. By E. Merton Coulter. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961. Pp. 289. \$10.00.)

The most glaring need in the mass of Civil War literature is for a descriptive bibliography of said literature. Such a bibliography should list the good and the bad books in the field, and it should say why each work adds to or detracts from a better knowledge of the 1861-65 period. When and if such a guide is ever attempted (and it is one of the goals of the Civil War Centennial Commission), Dr. Merton Coulter's *Travels* will form a sturdy foundation. First published in 1948, the high popularity of the book quickly made its availability short-lived. The increasing demand for the work, however, has proven such as to warrant this new—and limited—edition. Contained herein is a listing of 492 soldiers' narratives, some by Confederates, but most of them by Federal soldiers who recorded their impressions of Southern lands, life, and prisons. Dr. Coulter incisively analyzed the value of each. No book collector will be without this bibliography, and the wise student who enjoys the letters and reminiscences of men in the ranks will waste no time in procuring his copy of this guide while copies can be had.

Blue and Gray: Georgetown University and the Civil War. Edited by James S. Ruby and Thomas E. Prendergast. (Washington: Georgetown University Alumni Association, 1961. Pp. xiv, 159. \$5.00.)

At the outbreak of the Civil War, 1,500 students were attending George-

town University. With the call to arms, 1,141 left their desks and went off to fight; 205 died in service, and the number who lost limbs or who returned with lead still imbedded in them must have been pathetically high. In a fitting gesture both to the university's heritage and to the Civil War Centennial, the Alumni Association of Georgetown has compiled and published this list of those who wore the blue (216) and those who donned the gray (925). Arranged by classes, the roster includes the war record of each known soldier. An alphabetical listing at the back greatly facilitates research, while portraits throughout the work supply a personal and wartime flavor. After reading a few pages, one will quickly understand why, in 1866, Georgetown University adopted blue and gray as the school colors.

A Campaign from Santa Fe to the Mississippi; Being a History of the Old Sibley Brigade. By Theophilus Noel. Introduction by Neal Austin. (Raleigh, N. C.: Charlmar Publications, 1961, Pp. xx, 156. \$20.00.)

To say simply that Theophilus Noel's history of the Confederate unit which slashed into New Mexico (and then limped out) is a collector's item would be a gross understatement. In 1947 a New Mexico oilman paid \$1,500 for the last known, available copy of the original edition. From the beauty of this new and limited edition, it too will be commanding a premium price in the not-too-distant future. Boxed, bound in wallpaper, and on stock the printer guarantees to last for 300 years, this maiden work of Charles R. Sanders, Jr., is as handsome in appearance as it is valuable in content. Sibley's brigade assembled in San Antonio in 1861, then embarked the following year on the Southwest's most noted expedition. As a member of the 4th Texas Cavalry, Noel participated with his comrades in the battles of Val Verde and Glorieta, plus subsequent campaigns near the Mississippi. As a former bookstore proprietor, he had a flair for writing and literature that enabled him to record vividly the marches, scenes, and battles of which he was a part. Only five copies of the original edition are known to exist; only 500 copies of this new edition have been printed. Collectors of personal and unit narratives who procrastinate in placing their order will miss a study both unique and rewarding.

Best Photos of the Civil War. By Hirst D. Milhollen and James R. Johnson. (New York: Fawcett Publications, 1961. Pp. 144. \$.75.)

Normally *Civil War History* does not review paperback publications, but we feel this particular work to be of such unusual value as to warrant mention and praise. Hirst Milhollen, the unchallenged authority on Civil War photographs, has amassed some 300 illustrations of soldiers, officers, battle scenes, and equipment. Around these, Ralph Johnson, a Marine Corps major, has deftly woven the story of the war's principal engagements. Perhaps because Brady and Gardner were with the Army of the Potomac explains why the

work is so heavily slanted on the Eastern theater, and why so important a battle as Shiloh is neglected. Yet the photographs tell much of the Civil War in general. Many of the officers depicted served in both theaters. Moreover, weapons, matériel—and indeed the common soldiers—of one theater were not dissimilar from those in another. For those reasons, and at so nominal a price, this work is truly a bargain.

Virginia, 1861-1865: Iron Gate to the Confederacy. By James I. Robertson, Jr. (Richmond: Virginia Civil War Commission, 1961. Pp. 64. \$1.00.)

Approximately 60 per cent of the Civil War was waged in Virginia; small wonder, therefore, that tourists in record numbers flock annually to the more than 200 battle sites in the Old Dominion. Realizing the need for a summary of the war in Virginia—not only for travelers but for students and all Civil War buffs as well—the Virginia Civil War Commission published this brief and straightforward account written by the editor of *Civil War History* (himself a Virginian). Forty illustrations and seven battle maps supplement the narrative. The story opens with the mounting tensions and conflicts of sentiment attendant to the early months of 1861. Secession comes, followed by the mighty campaigns at Manassas, in the Valley, on the Peninsula, and at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Richmond, and Petersburg. An epilogue then discusses some of the state's contributions in the war. (For example, one of every four Confederate generals was a Virginian.) Here, in concise form, is a summary of the war in the East.

A Yankee Private's Civil War. By Robert Hale Strong. Edited by Ashley Halsey. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1961. Pp. xi, 218. \$3.95.)

As a concomitant of the centennial of the 1861-65 struggle, many publishers have recognized the human interest, and potential value, of soldiers' narratives. As a result, scores of diaries, reminiscences, and collections of letters have gushed forth in recent months. This particular work belongs to the second class of soldier-writings. The author was a private in the 105th Illinois; he campaigned with Sherman to Atlanta, to the sea, and through the Carolinas. His narrative was written years after the conflict, but he relied heavily on wartime letters written to his mother in order to refreshen his memory. The recollections are at times vague as to exact battles and dates; on the other hand, they contain humor and down-to-earth observations that place them above the average. For example, he once stated: "The fighting whenever we had to support a battery was always one of the hardest, for guns were one thing the enemy really went after." Of foraging during Sherman's slash across Georgia, Strong commented tacitly: "If you need it, go and git it." Judging from the mass of quotations given, it is evident that Strong either wrote extraordinarily detailed letters home, or else he possessed a superbly keen mind. Lack

of an index and sufficient annotation restricts the usefulness of the recollections, but several illustrations and Ashley Halsey's stimulating introduction compensate in part for these deficiencies.

Uniform Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1861. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1961. Pp. 61. \$1.00.)

"This publication," the Foreword states, "is now intended to be the last word on Union uniforms. On the contrary, the intention is to make available for general distribution some basic data on the dress of the Union army." With that, the Smithsonian Institution has reprinted by offset process the 1862 revised edition of the standard manual of dress for Billy Yanks. The work is coldly technical, to be sure, but comments on "Trimmings" and "Trowsers" will give an insight into what soldiers were *supposed* to wear. Of equal interest in this pamphlet are thirty-six full-page photographs, taken from original glass plates, of a soldier attired in everything from a corporal's outfit to a stable frock. The male model is not Hollywood material, but some movie producers might profit from a close examination of the uniforms issued to Federal soldiers.

Rags and Hope: The Memoirs of Val C. Giles. Edited by Mary Lasswell. (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1961. Pp. 280. \$5.75.)

Valerius Cincinnatus Giles was a skinny youth of nineteen when he scampered off his father's farm near Austin and proudly donned the gray of the 4th Texas Infantry. After four years of fighting and 1,500 miles of marching, he returned home as a weary survivor of Hood's Texas Brigade. Late in life Giles recorded his recollections of wartime. Author Mary Lasswell then polished them for publication with the blessings of the Texas Civil War Centennial Commission. The recollections are unusually good—for a soldier's humor; for poignant descriptions of the Seven Days, Second Manassas, and Fredericksburg; and for keen insights into such Confederate leaders as Davis, Longstreet, Jackson, and Stuart. Giles's pen picture of Lee at Gettysburg will no doubt be quoted time and time again. His description of the hell at Chickamauga is matched by his recollections of the horrors at Camp Morton. This is truly one of the better Confederate narratives published in recent months. Yet the lack of an index—an unpardonable lapse in a work of this type—limits the book's value to all but pleasure readers and the super-patient researcher.

CIVIL WAR HISTORY

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